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ABSTRACT

This textbook highlights key aspects of Japan's history and culture from the Tokugawa era (1600-1868) to the present. The textbook includes role plays, primary documents, first-person accounts, diary entries, excerpts from literary works, songs, poems, maps and timelines, charts and graphs, and political cartoons. It also includes a glossary that lists important words used throughout the text. Chapters in the textbook are: (1) "Building the Early Modern State, 1600 to 1912" (Edo Period of the Tokugawa Shogunate; Meiji Restoration and the Building of Modern Japan; Conservative Reaction and the Costs of Building a Modern State); (2) "Modernization, Crisis, and War, 1912 to 1945" (Taisho: Challenging Authority and Tradition, 1912-1926; Showa: Economic Crisis and Rise of Militarism, 1926-1937; Japan in World War II, 1937-1945); and (3) "Recovery and the Rise of an Economic Superpower, 1945 to the Present" (Occupation and Recovery, 1945-1952; Economic Growth and Social Change; Japan and the World). The teacher's manual is organized similarly to the text, with three chapters, each with three sections. The manual includes a synopsis of each section, student achievement, definitions of key concepts, directions for student activities, possible responses to questions and activities posed in the student text, and an estimate of the number of class periods needed to complete the material, based on 50-minute periods. The teacher's manual also contains handouts. (BT)

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JAPAN

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TEACHER'S MANUAL

Curriculum Research & Development Group
University of Hawai'i

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How This Manual is Organized

This manual is organized similarly to the student text. There are three chapters, each with three sections. Chapter 1 gives us a glimpse of the flourishing Edo period, a time of peace and prosperity, and then focuses on the Meiji Restoration. Chapter 2 examines Japan's rapidly modernizing economy during the Taishō and Shōwa periods, provides an analysis of Japan on the road to World War II, and concludes with Japan's surrender on the USS *Missouri* in 1945. Chapter 3 focuses on one aspect of Japan's wartime defeat, the American occupation. It then decribes Japan's subsequent rise as an economic superpower, and its struggle to cope with the results of success. All three chapters contain personal accounts by or about ordinary people and their role in the history of Japan.

Time constraints or the emphasis of a particular course may prevent the use of all three chapters of *The Rise of Modern Japan*. Although common themes are woven throughout the text, each chapter is designed to stand alone. However, information included in one chapter but relevant in another is not repeated. Instead, the student text directs learners to consult specific chapters and sections for needed information.

The manual includes a synopsis of each section, learner outcomes, definitions of key concepts, directions for student activities, possible responses to questions and activities posed in the student text, and an estimate of the number of class periods needed to complete the material based on 50-minute periods.

Supplementary information in this manual includes

- "A Guide to Contents of *The Rise of Modern Japan*," a chart which lists the materials and student activities contained in each section of the text;
- An "Overview of *The Rise of Modern Japan*," which contains the title and summary of each section;
- Handouts for student activities; and
- References to a compact disc, *The Rise of Modern Japan: Musical Selections*, which contains musical selections from different time periods, locations, and genres.

A Guide to Contents of *The Rise of Modern Japan*

	Materials					Student Activities						
	Maps	Graphs/Charts/Tables	Primary Documents/Personal Accounts	Political Cartoons/Editorials	Literary Works	Essay Writing	Speaking Before the Class	Role Play/Simulation Performance	Working in Pairs/Groups	Creative Writing	Art/Photo Analysis	Musical Selections
Chapter 1: Building the Early Modern State, 1600 to 1912												
Section 1: The Edo Period of the Tokugawa Shogunate	●		●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Section 2: The Meiji Restoration and the Building of Modern Japan	●		●		●		●	●	●		●	●
Section 3: Conservative Reaction and the Costs of Building a Modern State			●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Chapter 2: Modernization, Crisis, and War, 1912 to 1945												
Section 1: Taishō: Challenging Authority and Tradition, 1912–1926	●	●	●	●	●				●		●	
Section 2: Shōwa: Economic Crisis and the Rise of Militarism, 1926–1937	●		●	●		●		●	●			
Section 3: Japan in World War II, 1937–1945	●		●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●
Chapter 3: Recovery and the Rise of an Economic Superpower, 1945 to the Present												
Section 1: The Occupation and Recovery, 1945–1952		●	●				●	●	●	●	●	●
Section 2: Economic Growth and Social Change		●	●			●	●		●	●		
Section 3: Japan and the World	●	●	●		●						●	●

Overview of *The Rise of Modern Japan*

Chapter 1. Building the Early Modern State, 1600 to 1912

Section 1. The Edo Period of the Tokugawa Shogunate

After a brief introduction to Japan's early history, religions, and geography, this section focuses on the rise of three important Japanese leaders who battled to unify Japan. Their efforts culminated in the victory of Tokugawa Ieyasu who began an era of peace and prosperity, the Edo period, that lasted over 250 years.

Section 2. The Meiji Restoration and the Building of Modern Japan

The Meiji Restoration is one of the most important events in modern Japanese history. It restored ceremonial rule to the emperor and gave legitimacy to the political, economic, and social changes that had begun in the late Tokugawa era. Japanese leaders, as well as ordinary people, began to see themselves as the citizens of a nation, the nation of Japan.

Section 3. Conservative Reaction and the Costs of Building a Modern State

Section 3 explores the many changes that occurred during the Meiji years, as well as the resistance to these changes. Samurai and peasants, for example, participated in uprisings to protest what they felt were unfair changes being imposed on them by the government. This section also includes engaging personal accounts to help the students understand the price ordinary Japanese people paid to make Japan a modern nation-state.

Chapter 2. Modernization, Crisis, and War, 1912 to 1945

Section 1. Taishō: Challenging Authority and Tradition, 1912–1926

The first section of this chapter looks at how the rapidly modernizing economy during the Taishō and early Shōwa periods ushered in new ways of living and foreign ideologies that challenged Japanese tradition, especially in the cities. It also examines how as society became more diverse, people began demanding a greater say in their government.

Section 2. Shōwa: Economic Crisis and the Rise of Militarism, 1926–1937

Section 2 looks at how ultranationalists in the military, with widespread popular support, exploited dire economic conditions in the early 1930s to expand Japan's imperial boundaries, take control of the government, and start Japan on the road to war.

Section 3. Japan in World War II, 1937–1945

The last section discusses Japan's involvement in the war in Asia and the Pacific, beginning with the outbreak of fighting in China in 1937 to final surrender aboard the USS *Missouri* in 1945. The section explores what the war meant to various segments of the Japanese population.

Chapter 3. Recovery and the Rise of an Economic Superpower, 1945 to the Present

Section 1. The Occupation and Recovery, 1945–1952

Section 1 explores the devastation and changes that Japan faced in the aftermath of World War II, when it was forced to submit to a foreign power. Sweeping political, economic, and social changes imposed on the Japanese by the occupying Americans included the creation of a new constitution, woman suffrage, and land reform aimed at dividing wealth more equally.

Section 2. Economic Growth and Social Change

Japan emerged from the ruins and devastation of war determined to become an important player in the global marketplace. Japan's rapid economic growth and productivity caught the world by surprise. However, its impressive accomplishments also resulted in disease, pollution, and an unequal distribution of Japan's new wealth. Accounts of economic recession and the changing role of women help the student understand the economic and social changes Japan experienced during this time.

Section 3. Japan and the World

This section examines Japan's role as an economic superpower and its relationship with the rest of the world. It includes a discussion of Article 9 of the 1947 Constitution, which prohibits Japan from participating in overseas military operations. The section also incorporates a discussion of the territorial disputes Japan has with its Asian neighbors. It concludes with a discussion of Japan's reluctance to accept minorities and foreigners, who, in the 1990s, accounted for four percent of its population.

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CHAPTER 1. BUILDING THE EARLY MODERN STATE, 1600 TO 1912

Section 1. The Edo Period of the Tokugawa Shogunate

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will understand that Japan's proximity to continental Asia allowed China's civilization to influence Japan profoundly.

2. Students will learn that the Tokugawa shogunate prohibited the practice of Christianity and regulated contacts with the West to maintain its control of the country. It allowed trade with the Dutch on the island of Deshima in Nagasaki Harbor; it was mainly through this link that the Japanese learned of Western scientific and technological discoveries.

3. Students will understand that the ideal virtues of a samurai included loyalty, fearlessness, morality, frugality, filial piety, and disciplined behavior, and that the ideal virtues of a woman included obedience, chastity, mercifulness, respectfulness, and filial and subdued behavior.

4. Students will understand that towns and cities emerged and grew during the Tokugawa period and that merchants, who officially ranked at the bottom of the social structure, in fact became rich. These changes severely undermined the stability of the government.

5. Students will learn that new forms of artistic expression emerged during the Edo period, including kabuki theater and woodblock printing, which often depicted life in the pleasure districts of the towns and cities.

6. Students will learn that pressure to open Japan to the West culminated in visits by U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry, which resulted in treaties with Western countries that infuriated influential *daimyō*, setting the stage for the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate.

KEY CONCEPTS

Confucianism. A system of principles and a code of ethics based on the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius (551 B.C.E. to 479 B.C.E.). Originating in China and spreading to Japan during the fifth century, Confucianism emphasized order and stability that came from a social hierarchy in which all people knew their places in the family and in society. Confucius' teachings included the Five Cardinal Relationships. These were emperor and official, father and

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son, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and male friend and male friend. In all of the relationships, the superior was to behave responsibly and to treat his inferior kindly. The inferior was to be obedient and loyal to his superior.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

Buddhism
bushidō
courtesan
daimyō
dynasty
Edo period
filial piety
geisha
indentured servant
kabuki
Nō theater
rōnin
samurai
shōgun
shogunate
ukiyo
ukiyo-e

STUDENTS WILL

1. create timeline-identification cards that demonstrate their grasp of key people and events that led to Japan's unification;
2. explain key terms, events, and ideas regarding Tokugawa control;
3. describe the ideal woman or ideal samurai in Tokugawa Japan;
4. write summaries explaining the situation of peasants and the rise of the merchant class; and
5. create graphic representations that present the forces that contributed to the downfall of the Tokugawa government.

MATERIALS

Index cards for the activity "Timeline Cards" and chart paper and water-based colored markers for the activity "Circles and Symbols."

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Activity: Images of Early Japan

1. What words come to mind when you think of Japan of long ago?

   Possible responses: Students might list kimono, samurai, emperor, *shōgun*, rice, tea, geisha, sushi, raw fish (sashimi), and other acceptable words.

2. Without help from other sources, sketch a map showing Japan, the countries near it, and the surrounding bodies of water. Label as many countries as you can.

   Possible responses: This question is included to see how much students already know of the geography of the area. Students should not be expected to know details, but it would be interesting to see if they know that Korea, Russia, and China are very close to Japan.

Questions: Early Japan

1. Return to your responses to the activity "Images of Early Japan." Which of your responses agreed with what you read in "Early Japan"? Now that you have read the essay on early Japan, write your responses to the questions you could not answer earlier.

   Possible responses: Students should now be able to answer both questions in the activity "Images of Early Japan." For question 1, words included in the essay are samurai, emperor, and *shōgun*.

2. How did Japan's proximity to the Asian continent influence Japan?

   Possible responses: Japan is very close to Korea, whose border touches China. People from China and Korea came to Japan bringing elements from China's great civilization—the writing system, farming tools, arts and crafts, ideas of government, land control, taxation, and imperial rule, and the philosophies of Buddhism and Confucianism.

3. How was the writing of history used to promote the early imperial family?

   Possible responses: The clan that managed to gain loose control over other tribes used the Chinese imperial model to establish their rule. They wrote the first histories of Japan by reworking ancient Japanese myths, establishing the idea that they were descendants of the ancient gods and goddesses.

4. Who were the samurai and the *shōgun*?

   Possible responses: In the Heian period, a golden age of Japanese culture, a time when the Japanese transformed what they had borrowed from the Chinese into a civilization uniquely Japanese, the imperial family and nobles left the actual governing to strongmen who controlled warrior bands. Some warriors, called samurai, became powerful and accepted titles from the emperor that enabled them to rule in his name. The most powerful title was that of *shōgun*. The first *shōgun* was Minamoto Yoritomo, who established a powerful military government, called a *bakufu*, which controlled the eastern region of Japan and some of the rest of the country.

Music from the Compact Disc

Two selections on the compact disc are associated with Buddhism. *Hanna Shingyō*, or Heart Sutra, is a well-known sutra (verse of Buddhist teaching) used in Jōdō and Zen Buddhism. *Reihō* is a classical Zen Buddhist piece that features the vertical bamboo flute called the *shakuhachi*.

Questions: The Road to Reunification

1. Who were the three men who reunified Japan, and what did they have in common?
   Possible responses: The three men were Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu. All of them began as minor figures, but because they were bold, brutal, and brilliant in gaining power, they were able to seize control.

2. Once he became the ruler of Japan, how did Hideyoshi maintain his position as leader and stabilize the society?
   Possible responses: Hideyoshi taxed the *daimyō*, moved *daimyō* he did not trust to domains where they could not threaten him, and placed those he trusted in strategic domains. He stabilized life in Japan by forbidding movement between classes. Peasants could not become warriors, and warriors could not become peasants. In this way, the land remained productive without interruption.

Activity: Timeline Cards

Students should place their cards in the following order. Possible sentences are given below:

1. Warring States period. This was a period of great chaos, when warring took place all over Japan, a time when pirates looted and even Buddhist monks battled.

2. Nobunaga. Nobunaga was a minor feudal lord who rose to power because of his boldness and brilliance, using Western guns to help him win military victories. He took control of much of Japan but was assassinated before he could unify all the islands.

3. Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi was a former peasant who became a great general and succeeded Nobunaga. Hideyoshi crushed all opposition and, as regent, ruled in the emperor's name. He instituted reforms that stabilized Japanese society and kept him in power.

4. Ieyasu. Ieyasu was one of Nobunaga's great generals. He became *shōgun* upon Hideyoshi's death. Ieyasu began a dynasty that ruled Japan for 250 years, a time of peace called the Edo period.

Activity: Explaining Tokugawa Control

1. Your teacher will divide you into groups of three. Choose one or more of the following words to learn and then explain the word to others in your group: *daimyō, shōgun,* Confucianism. For help, review the previous pages of this section and check the glossary.

   Possible responses: These words are in the glossary.

2. You will be assigned one of the questions below. Review the essay "Tokugawa Control" and then respond orally to your group. After you complete your response to the question, invite your group to react to what you said. Do they agree or disagree with your response? Do they have anything to add?

   a. How did Ieyasu control threats to his supremacy from the *daimyō?*

   Possible responses: He took lands away from his enemy *daimyō* and then moved the remaining *daimyō* to selected lands according to their loyalty to him. He placed those he trusted near him and in strategic areas, and those he distrusted he placed far away from him. He had the *daimyō* leave their wives and heirs as hostages at his court in Edo and required the *daimyō* to travel to Edo every other year. The expense of the trip was highest for those he distrusted most because they lived farthest from Edo, preventing them from raising an army against him.

   b. How did Western countries pose a threat to Japan, and what did Ieyasu and his successors do about it?

   Possible responses: Ieyasu feared Christian missionaries because he believed that Japanese Christians would give their loyalty to the pope in Rome rather than to him, so he banned all Christian missionaries from Japan. Western weapons would be a threat if his opponents collected enough to overthrow the Tokugawa shogunate, so he expelled all foreigners and pushed Western traders to Deshima island, where only the Dutch remained to trade. In this way Japan tried to protect itself from potentially harmful influences from the rest of the world.

   c. How did the Tokugawa shogunate stabilize Japanese society?

   Possible responses: Ieyasu adapted an idea from Confucianism. Needing to find a new role for the samurai, he transformed them into a class of scholar bureaucrats, stressing not only a warrior attitude, but also a devotion to scholarship and moral leadership. Ieyasu also stabilized society by following the Confucian division of society into four separate and unequal classes: samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants.

Activity: Explaining to Others

Steps 1-7 in the student book are self-explanatory. Possible responses to step 8 are given here.

8. List five adjectives that describe the virtues of an ideal samurai and an ideal woman.
   Possible responses: Adjectives for the ideal samurai include loyal, brave, morally correct, frugal, stoic, filial, disciplined. Adjectives for the ideal woman include obedient, chaste, merciful, quiet, proper, reverent, filial, respectful, composed.

Activity: Summaries

Accept summaries that show students' understanding of the main ideas of the reading.

Questions: Urban Life and Culture

1. What was *ukiyo-e*?
   Possible responses: Translated as "pictures of the floating world," *ukiyo-e* were woodblock prints that became popular during the Tokugawa period. The prints not only depicted traditional Japanese subjects of nature but also the "floating world" of urban life, such as courtesans, entertainers, and sumo wrestlers.

2. Discuss the status of women in Tokugawa Japan—as wives and as geisha. What differences do you find? What similarities? In general, which were in a better situation? Give reasons for your view.
   Possible responses: Geisha lived in material comfort, as did wives in wealthy families, in contrast to wives in poverty-stricken families. But both wives and geisha were bound by rules that placed them at the service of others, especially men. Both had to carry out their obligations to others and accept their place in society. Accept reasonable responses to the last part of the question.

Questions: Dutch Studies

1. What were some of the signs that the Tokugawa shogunate was losing control of events?
   Possible responses: The samurai, including many *daimyō*, were falling deeper and deeper in debt to the merchants, who were growing richer and richer. Even the shogunate was forced to borrow money from the merchants. Peasants were being overtaxed and were rebelling more often. Unruly samurai were frequenting the pleasure quarters and engaging in massive street brawls. Western knowledge was filtering into Japan, making some Japanese scholars question their long-held assumptions.

2. In the story about Dutch studies, the word *eta* refers to outcasts now called *burakumin*, who held jobs that the Japanese believed were unclean. (See Chapter 3, Section 3, for a discussion of the *burakumin*.) The *burakumin* in this story had dissected many humans. Why do you suppose previous Japanese physicians who had witnessed dissections had not asked the butcher what he knew about the human anatomy?

   Possible responses: The physicians did not believe that *burakumin*, who were of a despised class, had knowledge that would be useful to science and healing.

3. Create a title for the story on Dutch studies.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

4. Examine the woodblock print "Dutch Surgery." Describe what you see happening. What is the artist trying to convey in this illustration? Explain your inferences.

   Possible responses: A European surgeon (probably Dutch) is amputating a patient's hand with the help of an assistant. Accept reasonable responses.

Activity: Circles and Symbols

To do this activity, students should refer to the readings "The Breakdown of Tokugawa Control" and "Japan and the West." They will need loose-leaf paper, chart paper, and water-based colored markers.

Urge students to use imagination in rendering their illustrations. Students may think of these and other "forces" that contributed to the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate:

- Samurai, including many *daimyō*, were becoming increasingly indebted to merchants.
- Merchants were growing increasingly wealthy.
- The social structure established by the shogunate was turning upside down.
- The Tokugawa shogunate had to borrow money from merchants.
- Peasant rebellions erupted.
- Dutch studies were destroying earlier assumptions.
- Western countries were pressuring Japan to open its ports.
- China's loss to Great Britain in the Opium War showed Japan what might happen if it refused to cooperate.
- Perry's visit showed that the West was more powerful militarily.

CHAPTER 1. BUILDING THE EARLY MODERN STATE, 1600 TO 1912

Section 2. The Meiji Restoration and the Building of Modern Japan

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will understand the meaning of and the reasons for the Meiji Restoration.

2. Students will understand the concept of Westernization and how it affected Japan during the Meiji era.

3. Students will understand the concept of nationalism and how Japanese nationalism was fostered during the Meiji era.

4. Students will learn how Japan's educational system expanded during the Meiji period and how it became a vehicle for teaching nationalism.

5. Students will understand causes and effects of Japanese expansionism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

KEY CONCEPTS

Confucianism. A system of principles and a code of ethics based on the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius (551 B.C.E to 479 B.C.E). Originating in China and spreading to Japan during the fifth century, Confucianism emphasized order and stability that came from a social hierarchy in which all people knew their places in the family and in society. Confucius' teachings included the Five Cardinal Relationships. These were emperor and official, father and son, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and male friend and male friend. In all of the relationships, the superior was to behave responsibly and to treat his inferior kindly. The inferior was to be obedient and loyal to his superior.

Extraterritoriality. The right of foreign citizens to be judged by the laws of their country of citizenship rather than the country in which they live.

Imperialism. Domination and extension of a nation’s authority over another nation; one country’s dominance over the economic and political affairs of a weaker country. Traditionally, imperialism has referred to European nations that during the nineteenth century turned weaker places into protectorates, spheres of influence, or colonies. Japan became an imperialist power in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Nationalism. The desire for national advancement or independence; loyalty and devotion to the interests of a nation, a country, or group of people having a common language and culture. Promoting the culture and interests of a nation, with an emphasis on national rather than international goals. A desire for one’s country to be free from foreign domination. See also *ultranationalism*.

Westernization. In this book, the process of conversion to or adoption of the traditions, ideas, and technology of the industrialized countries of Europe and North America.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

conscript
coup d’état
kami
most-favored-nation clause
nationalize
prefecture
rescript
Shintō
subsidy
tariff
Treaty of Portsmouth
Treaty of Shimonoseki
Triple Intervention
Westernization
yatoi
zaibatsu

STUDENTS WILL

1. define and explain the terms *extraterritoriality* and *most-favored-nation clause*;

2. define and discuss the meaning of *nationalism*;

3. analyze an image and explain what it might show or imply about a historical event;

4. read a first-person account of a Japanese family’s first experience eating meat;

5. take part in a dramatic reading of the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education;

6. read first-person accounts about attending school in Meiji Japan; and

7. examine woodblock print images of the Sino–Japanese War.

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO QUESTONS AND ACTIVITIES

Activity: Pairing Off

Accept reasonable responses.

Meiji leaders wanted the extraterritoriality provision removed from the treaties they had negotiated with foreigners because the Japanese government had almost no legal control over foreigners living in Japan. Foreigners accused of a crime were turned over to their own government, which then decided what to do with them. Foreigners enjoyed a privileged legal position in Japan.

Meiji leaders wanted the most-favored-nation clause deleted from the treaties they negotiated with foreigners because any rights or privileges Japan gave to one country it had to extend to other countries with whom it had already made treaties. Thus Japan was caught in a seemingly endless cycle of granting more and more privileges to foreigners with every treaty it signed.

Activity: What Is Nationalism?

This activity gives students an opportunity to grapple with the meaning of *nationalism* as it is defined in dictionaries and as it is used in the popular media. They are asked to devise a working definition of the term and to compare their definition with the developing nationalism of the early Meiji period. Students should understand that *country* and *nation* are not always synonymous; that there are nations bound together by a common language, religion, ethnicity, traditions, practices, and beliefs. During the late nineteenth century, Meiji Japan was trying to establish itself as a nation-state.

Part I: At Home

Students should select a historical or current event that they believe exemplifies one of the meanings of nationalism in the student text. They should be able to explain in writing how their chosen event exemplifies nationalism.

Part II: At School

There are no definitive responses to the questions posed for group discussion. Use them to provoke students to reflect and debate. Accept well-reasoned responses. Students may have to agree to disagree on responses to some of the questions.

Part III: At School

Student groups should share the results of their discussions with the class. They should devise a working definition of *nationalism* and keep it for further reference.

Music from the Compact Disc

Two selections on the compact disc focus on Shintō, Japan's indigenous religion. *Kagura* is a general term for Shintō ritual music and dance. This *kagura* from Hiroshima enacts ancient Japanese legends. It features the large barrel-shaped *taiko* or drum, and the *fue*, a bamboo flute. *Hayashida* is a term for Shintō rice-planting rites and prayers from Hiroshima prefecture. This *hayashida*, performed at Kawahigashi in Chiyodā-chō, is an exchange of songs between the song leader and rice-planting maidens.

Questions: Nationalism in Early Meiji Japan

1. What did nationalism mean in the early years of the Meiji Restoration?

   Possible responses: During the early years of the Meiji Restoration, nationalism was aimed at helping the Japanese see themselves as one people and one nation under the leadership of the emperor. This unity was symbolized by the emperor himself, by the rituals that characterized State Shintō, by the national anthem, and by the Japanese flag.

2. Retrieve the working definition of *nationalism* you devised with your classmates. Does nationalism by your definition differ from nationalism in Japan during the early Meiji period? If so, how?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Questions: A Strong Army

1. List three ways the establishment of a conscript army contributed to Japanese nationalism in the early Meiji period.

   Possible responses: The conscript army brought men together from all over Japan, reducing regional differences and rivalries somewhat, and helped the men see themselves as part of a larger entity, the nation of Japan. All recruits received the same training. They were taught that loyalty to the emperor was their most important duty and that they were to protect the people and the nation of Japan. Although early recruits wore traditional clothing, by the mid-1870s, all soldiers wore uniforms, an important symbol of common identity and of service to the nation.

2. Some former samurai joined the imperial army as officers. Speculate on how their backgrounds might have affected the way they believed Japanese soldiers should behave. (You may have to review Chapter 1, Section 1, to respond to this question.)

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Former samurai, trained in the code of *bushidō,* or the way of the warrior, would probably have stressed the need for soldiers to be utterly loyal to their lord, the emperor, and fearless in the face of death.

Activity: Image Analysis

This activity gives students an opportunity to examine a work of art as a historical document and to evaluate its validity as a historical document.

Questions: The Iwakura Mission

1 The Iwakura Mission failed to meet its primary goal, to revise the unequal treaties. Would you characterize the mission as a failure? Why or why not? Give reasons for your response.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Although the members of the Iwakura Mission were not able to revise the unequal treaties, they did take advantage of the extraordinary opportunity to learn about the world outside Japan. As a result of their visits to almost every institution imaginable, including schools, hospitals, prisons, factories, and farms, these officials returned home convinced that Japan had to change and become a modern industrialized nation.

2. Many high-ranking government officials were members of the Iwakura Mission. When they sailed from Japan, they left the government in the hands of other officials who promised to keep the country functioning and to make no major changes in their absence. Do you think that government leaders today would leave their countries in the hands of a "caretaker government" for an extended time? Why or why not?

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable response. It seems unlikely that any world leader today would leave his or her country in the hands of a caretaker government for an extended time. Even though instant communications and swift transportation have made caretaker governments unnecessary, high government officials rarely leave their countries for more than a few weeks at a time. Some may fear that disloyal subordinates might overthrow them in their absence. Others may be concerned that long absences will generate rumors that the leader is ill or uninterested in doing his or her job. Most of the people of Meiji Japan were probably unaware that a caretaker government was in charge while the members of the Iwakura Mission were away. And most of those who did know probably did not care because it did not directly affect them. Today many people would question the motives of a leader who publicly handed over the responsibilities of office to a caretaker government.

Activity: Image Analysis, continued

Questions

1. What event does the image portray?

   Possible responses: It portrays some of the members of the Iwakura Mission leaving Japan for their journey to America and Europe. They are depicted sailing out of the harbor aboard small boats that will take them to the large American ship anchored out in Tōkyō Bay.

2. What can you infer about the event from the image? Were your earlier inferences correct?

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. The event seems to be an important one. Many people have gathered on the docks to say good-bye to the travelers. The flag of Japan can be seen flying from three of the boats. The figure in the middle of the painting is dressed in formal clothing.

3. Identify two people in the image by name.

   Possible responses: Tsuda Umeko and Mrs. Delong can be seen in the boat on the right. Iwakura Tomomi is standing on the fantail of the boat in the center of the painting, along with Ōkubo Toshimichi and Kido Takayoshi.

4. What unanswered questions does the image still raise in your mind? Where might you find the answers to those questions?

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses.

5. Give the image a title.

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable titles. The artist called this painting "The Voyage Out."

6. How might this image differ from a historical photograph depicting this event? Which do you consider more accurate? Why?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Presumably a photograph would not be subject to the picture-taker's imagination, so it would be more accurate. But the technology to alter photographs now exists, so the accuracy of photographs is sometimes questioned today.

Question: The Expansion of Industry

How might the changes during the later Meiji era, such as the establishment of railroads, telegraph and telephone systems, and a postal system, have contributed to Japanese nationalism?

Possible responses: Accept any reasonable response. Modern transportation and communication systems made it easier for people from all over Japan to have contact with each other. These systems made it easier for people to see themselves as part of a large, unified country, one people united under the rule of the emperor.

Questions: "The Old and the New"

1. Everyday decisions in Japanese families, that is, decisions about children and running a household, were almost always made by mothers (or mothers-in-law) during the Meiji period. But in this story Etsuko's father ordered the family to eat meat. Why? What does this imply about the father's authority in the household?

   Possible responses: Etsuko's grandmother said that Etsuko's father, the head of the household, ordered his family to eat meat because he had been told it would make him and his family members strong in mind and body. Although the everyday running of a household was the domain of women, important decisions handed down by the father were obeyed without question. Children did not argue with their fathers or talk back to them. Fathers were served first at meals; their children bowed to them to show respect. A Japanese proverb says that "the things that one has most to fear are earthquakes, thunder, fire, and father."

2. Why did Etsuko's grandmother refuse to eat meat? Was she the only one in the family who could have refused to do so? Why?

   Possible responses: Etsuko's grandmother refused to eat meat because she did not, as she said, want to grow as strong as Westerners, nor as clever. In other words, she did not want to become westernized. She also said she wanted to continue to follow in the way of her ancestors, who did not eat meat. As the senior member of the household, Etsuko's grandmother was respected. Even her son, Etsuko's father, as the head of the household, owed her respect. She undoubtedly was the only member of the household who could have refused to eat meat once the head of the family had spoken.

3. What would have happened if Etsuko or her mother or sister refused to eat meat? Would their refusal have been acceptable? Why or why not?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. The other members of the family could not have refused to obey the father, the head of the household. His word was law.

Activity: The Imperial Rescript on Education, October 30, 1890

Questions

1. According to the rescript, what are the sources of Japanese education?
   Possible responses: According to the rescript, loyalty and filial piety are the sources of Japanese education.

2. Why did Japanese students recite the imperial rescript in school every day?
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Students recited the rescript to remind them of their duties: that they were to be loyal and filial to the emperor and to family and friends, that they were to obey the law, and even offer to sacrifice themselves, if the need arose, to the state, meaning Japan.

3. The Imperial Rescript on Education is often linked to the evolution of nationalism in Japan. Why? Explain the connection between the rescript and nationalism.
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. The content of the rescript and the ceremonies surrounding its daily recitation were geared to engendering loyalty to Japan and to the emperor. It provided all students with a sense of a common history, reinforced the importance of Confucian values, and instilled a sense of belonging to an entity larger than oneself or one's family: the nation of Japan.

4. Have you ever taken part in rituals at school that might be compared to reciting the imperial rescript? List them.
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Most students will probably liken reciting the Pledge of Allegiance to reciting the rescript. Others may mention singing the national anthem at public events.

5. What was or is the purpose of such rituals?
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Rituals such as the Pledge of Allegiance give Americans a means of expressing unity and love of country in a nation without other markers of common identity such as race, ethnicity, or religion.

6. How are the rituals you have taken part in at school similar to or different from reciting the imperial rescript?
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. You might want to point out that the Supreme Court declared (*West Virginia* v. *Barnette*, 1943) that Americans cannot be compelled to salute the flag.

Questions: Going to School in Meiji Japan

1. The authors whose writings are excerpted here went to different schools at different times during the Meiji era. Their educational experiences differed. What do you think accounts for these differences? Did they have any common experiences as students?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Although the authors attended different schools at different times during the Meiji period, they did have some common experiences. Tokutomi and Ishimoto both mention learning penmanship (calligraphy), although Tokutomi talks about practicing his characters by candlelight in an unheated building. Although only Ishimoto notes this explicitly, Japanese students, especially older students, were separated in school by sex. Finally, although there were women teachers in the Peeresses' School, in most schools, even in the lower grades, most teachers and certainly all principals were men.

2. Which aspects of the educational experiences described in these excerpts, if any, seem distinctly Western to you? Which aspects seem to be distinctly Japanese?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Although the organizational structure of Japanese schools was Western during the Meiji era, with students grouped by grades, much of what was taught, including calligraphy, manners, morals, and especially the content of the Imperial Rescript on Education, was distinctly Japanese. Some Western subjects, especially science, were taught in Japanese schools. But the authors here do not discuss such experiences. In fact, Ishimoto notes she was only allowed to peep into the world of science. Students should know that moral education was an important aspect of Western schooling in the nineteenth century, as reflected in American textbooks of the time, including the famous McGuffey Readers.

3. Even though Tokutomi Kenjirō indicates that change was slow in coming to his isolated village, he also seems to indicate that the people had some sense of the changes taking place in Meiji Japan and were affected by them. How did people learn of these changes?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Although Tokutomi and his family lived in an isolated place, some of the people in his village had access to a newspaper from Tōkyō, even though the only copy had to be passed around among as many as thirty or forty readers. So some people read about changes and reforms; others probably learned about them through word of mouth. Tokutomi also notes that even when he was in primary school, an inspector from Tōkyō came to visit his school. Visitors like this brought news from the capital. They also had authority to make changes in what had become a centralized school system.

4. As a young woman Ishimoto Shidzue was married to a baron. Do you think the education she received at the Peeresses' School prepared her for her role as the wife of an important man? Why or why not?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. As a student Ishimoto Shidzue learned how to be an obedient wife and wise mother. She was not expected to become a leader, but rather a polite, gracious, and accomplished young woman who was loyal to the emperor and obedient to her parents.

5. Describe an episode from your own experience as a student that is either very similar to or very different from the experiences described here.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Activity: Impressions of the Front

This activity gives students an opportunity to see how the First Sino–Japanese war was depicted in Japan in a popular medium, the woodblock print.

Accept reasonable responses to the questions posed. Generally the Japanese are portrayed as valiant, steadfast, and victorious over the hapless Chinese. Even at the peace negotiations, the Chinese are portrayed in traditional garb, which might be interpreted as an indicator of their lack of modernization, while the Japanese are dressed in "modern" Western clothes.

CHAPTER 1. BUILDING THE EARLY MODERN STATE, 1600 TO 1912

Section 3. Conservative Reaction and the Costs of Building a Modern State

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will learn about the turbulence that marked the early Meiji period and the period of conservatism that followed. In the early period, samurai rebelled against the government that had destroyed their way of life, and peasants rebelled against hardships imposed by government in its efforts to bring "civilization and enlightenment." The Meiji government responded by suppressing rebellions. It also suppressed political dissent, passing regulations that forbade political protest. Meiji leaders, however, cannot be simply labeled "conservative." They continued to push for change and modernization, even while suppressing political dissent.

2. Students will understand that the Meiji Constitution was promulgated in 1889 as the emperor's gift to the people of Japan. Although it granted the people certain rights, they were strictly limited.

3. Students will comprehend that although the constitution gave ultimate power to the emperor, in reality it was the *genrō*, the elder statesmen who had led the Meiji Restoration, who exercised true power.

4. Students will appreciate that much of the sacrifice required to make Japan a modern nation-state was borne by the ordinary people—peasants, factory workers, miners, and others. The need for a strong army was met by conscripting young men into the military.

5. Students will draw their own conclusions about whether the benefits of rapid modernization during the Meiji era outweighed the costs.

KEY CONCEPTS

Conservatism. The inclination to keep things the way they are, to resist change; to favor traditional views and values. (During the Meiji era the government suppressed those who pushed for a constitution and representative government. Although these actions might be seen as conservative, the members of the *genrō* were not conservative; they pushed for change and modernization even as they suppressed those who wanted change to come more quickly.)

Industrialization. The application and use of technology in place of human labor, often characterized by development of large-scale industries marked by the production of large quantities of manufactured goods and a concentration of employment in urban factories. In Meiji Japan the term also included development of modern transportation and communication systems.

Popular rights. In its largest sense, the phrase refers to the rights of the people. In Meiji Japan, the Freedom and People's Rights Movement was the name of a political movement that advocated establishment of a constitution and a parliamentary government. It was not aimed at winning rights for all the people.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

cabinet
Diet
genrō
Meiji
Meiji Restoration
prime minister
privy council

STUDENTS WILL

1. analyze a list of members of Japan's cabinet and *genrō* for the years 1892 to 1896 to determine which group actually held power under the Meiji Constitution;
2. read several first-hand accounts of the lives of ordinary people during the Meiji era;
3. analyze a woodblock print and determine what it might imply about a silk-reeling factory in Tōkyō in 1872;
4. compare the depiction of life in the silk-reeling factory with life in a cotton mill as depicted in the lyrics of a song;
5. explain why one historical source may contradict another and suggest ways of resolving such contradictions;
6. synthesize the information in the section about the lives of ordinary people in Meiji Japan by writing a letter from the point of view of a specific person;
7. take part in a role-play to help decide whether the benefits of rapid modernization outweighed its costs.

MATERIALS

Handout A, "Members of the *Genrō* and Cabinet, August 1892 to September 1896," pens or pencils in three colors, Scotch tape

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Questions: The Suppression of Dissent

1. Both former samurai and peasants rebelled against the Meiji government. How were their reasons for rebellion similar? How were they different? (To respond to this question, you may need to review the information in Chapter 1, Section 1, about what happened to the samurai when the Tokugawa government was overthrown.)

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. When the Tokugawa government was overthrown, the samurai lost the privileges they had enjoyed for hundreds of years, along with their status and their livelihoods. They hoped to overthrow the government and regain their lost way of life. The peasants rebelled against the government because of the onerous demands it made on them in taxes, conscription, and tuition to send their children to school. Many had lost their lands to moneylenders. Both samurai and peasants rebelled against the changes that the Meiji government imposed on them, but the reasons for their rebellions differed.

2. Saigō Takamori is still one of the best-known and loved figures of Japanese history because of his unswerving loyalty to samurai ideals. It was said that he personified "the nobility of failure." Explain what this statement means.

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. Saigō Takamori remained true to the samurai code of *bushidō,* which emphasized courage, honor, and loyalty to his lord. Even in the face of overwhelming odds, Saigō remained loyal to these ideals to the point of sacrificing himself for his beliefs.

Questions: The Freedom and People's Rights Movement and The Meiji Constitution

1. How did the Meiji government treat those who spoke out for ideas like representative government and a constitution?

   Possible Responses: The Meiji government argued in the 1870s that the Japanese did not have enough experience with Western-style governments to be able to participate in a representative government. In the 1880s the government began to enact laws against those who wanted popular rights. The press was censored, and journalists were sometimes imprisoned. Political gatherings were limited. The 1887 Peace Regulations were the most restrictive laws of all.

2. List the main elements of the 1887 Peace Regulations. Why did the Meiji government include expulsion from Tōkyō for anyone "judged to be scheming something detrimental to public tranquility"?

   Possible responses: The Peace Regulations of 1887 banned secret societies and meetings. It allowed the police to break up public demonstrations and forbade the publication of what the government considered "dangerous" literature. Finally, it expelled from Tōkyō people it suspected of scheming something detrimental to public peace.

3. Before the Meiji Constitution was written, Japanese scholars studied European constitutions and the American constitution. They rejected the American constitution as a model for a Japanese constitution. Why do you think they did so? What was the most fundamental difference between the American constitution and the proposed Japanese constitution?

   Possible responses: The Japanese scholars who studied various constitutions were adamant that for cultural and political reasons ultimate power had to be held by the emperor, as it had, at least in theory, for thousands of years. Because the American constitution vests ultimate power in the people, it was rejected as a model for the Meiji Constitution.

4. Although the Meiji government punished those who spoke out for a constitution, its officials studied other countries' constitutions and wrote a constitution for Japan. Speculate on the reasons for this seemingly contradictory behavior on the part of the Meiji government.

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. The Meiji government wanted Japan to have a constitution to mark its modern status, and to emulate other countries, especially Western ones. And it sent scholars to other countries to study various constitutions. But the idea of popular rights, which appeared in some Western constitutions, was at odds with Japan's insistence that all power emanated from the emperor. Therefore the government insisted that the constitution itself not result from pressure brought by political parties or advocates of popular rights, but that it, and the limited representative government it allowed, be granted by the emperor.

Activity: Who Held Power?

1. Tape together the two pages of Handout A that your teacher gives you. Your handout will now be 8-1/2 inches wide and 22 inches long.

2. Choose a color. Then look at the name of the first member of the *genrō*, Itō Hirobumi. If he was also a member of the cabinet, draw a line from his name in the *genrō* column to his name in the cabinet column every time it appears. Repeat these directions for every member

of the *genrō*, using the same color. That is, draw a line from the names in the *genrō* column to those same names in the cabinet column whenever they appear.

3. Choose another color. This time look only at the cabinet column. Draw a circle around names that appear more than once in the cabinet column.

4. Choose a final color. Use the left margin to draw lines linking the same names in the cabinet column. For example, Saigō Tsugumichi's name shows up twice in the cabinet column. Draw a line in the left margin linking his name as minister of war to his name as minister of the navy. (Saigō Tsugumichi was Saigō Takemori's brother.)

Questions: Who Held Power?

1. Look carefully at your chart. Then write a statement telling who held power in the Meiji government for the years 1892 to 1896. Support your statement with data from the chart.

   Possible responses: During the years 1892 to 1896, power was held by the *genrō*, a small group of elder statesmen who advised the emperor. Many members of the *genrō* also held cabinet positions, frequently moving from one position to another and occasionally holding more than one position. Students should cite examples to support their statement that *genrō* members simultaneously served in the cabinet in a number of different positions.

2. The chart you filled in and the information you derived from it are valid only for the years 1892 to 1896. However, if you were to fill in similar charts for the years 1885 to 1912, you would find most of the same members of the *genrō* holding positions in the Meiji government. What might be the advantages of having a group of people like the *genrō* as a part of a government structure? What might be the disadvantages?

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. The advantage of having a small, extra-constitutional group such as the *genrō* as a part of government probably made it easier to get things done. These men had a long history with each other. Because they had held many positions, they were knowledgeable about many aspects of government. Their long-time personal relationships probably enhanced their ability to accomplish the goals of the Meiji government. But there were disadvantages too. Outsiders apparently had no way of influencing government policy or making changes even if they were needed. Such consolidation of power often leads to abuse and corruption.

Activity: Who Held Power?

Handout A

Name__________________________________ Date___________________________

Members of the *Genrō* and Cabinet, August 1892 to September 1896

Cabinet Members

ITŌ Hirobumi, Prime Minister
(1892–1896)

INOUE Kaoru, Acting Prime Minister
(November 1892–February 1893)

KURODA Kiyotaka, Acting Prime Minister
(March–September 1896)

MUTSU Munemitsu, Foreign Affairs
(August 1892–June 1895; April–May 1896)

SAIONJI Kinmochi, Foreign Affairs
(June 1895–April 1896; May–September 1896)

INOUE Kaoru, Home Affairs
(August 1892–October 1894)

YOSHIKAWA Akimasa, Home Affairs
(May 1894–June 1894; February 1896–April 1896)

NOMURA Yasushi, Home Affairs
(October 1894–February 1896)

ITAGAKI Taisuke, Home Affairs
(April–September 1896)

WATANABE Kuniaki, Finance
(August 1892–March 1895; August 1895–September 1896)

MATSUKATA Masayoshi, Finance
(March 1895–August 1895)

ŌYAMA Iwao, War
(August 1892–October 1894; May 1895–September 1896)

SAIGŌ Tsugumichi, War
(October–March 1895; April–May 1895)

***Genrō* Members**

ITŌ Hirobumi

YAMAGATA Aritomo

INOUE Kaoru

KURODA Kiyotaka

YAMADA Akiyoshi

ŌYAMA Iwao

SAIGŌ Tsugumichi

MATSUKATA Masayoshi

KATSURA Taro

SAIONJI Kinmochi

YAMAGATA Aritomo, War
(March–April 1895; May 1895)

NIRE Kagenori, Navy
(August 1892–March 1893)

SAIGŌ Tsugumichi, Navy
(March 1893–September 1896)

YAMAGATA Aritomo, Justice
(August 1892–March 1893)

YOSHIKAWA Akimasa, Justice
(March 1893–September 1896)

KŌNO Togama, Education
(August 1892–March 1893)

INOUE Kowashi, Education
(March 1893–August 1894)

YOSHIKAWA Akimasa, Education
(August 1894–October 1894)

SAIONJI Kinmochi, Education
(October 1894–September 1896)

GOTO Shōjirō, Agriculture and Commerce
(August 1892–January 1894)

ENOMOTO Takeaki, Agriculture and Commerce
(January 1894–September 1896)

KURODA Kiyotaka, Communications
(August 1892–March 1895)

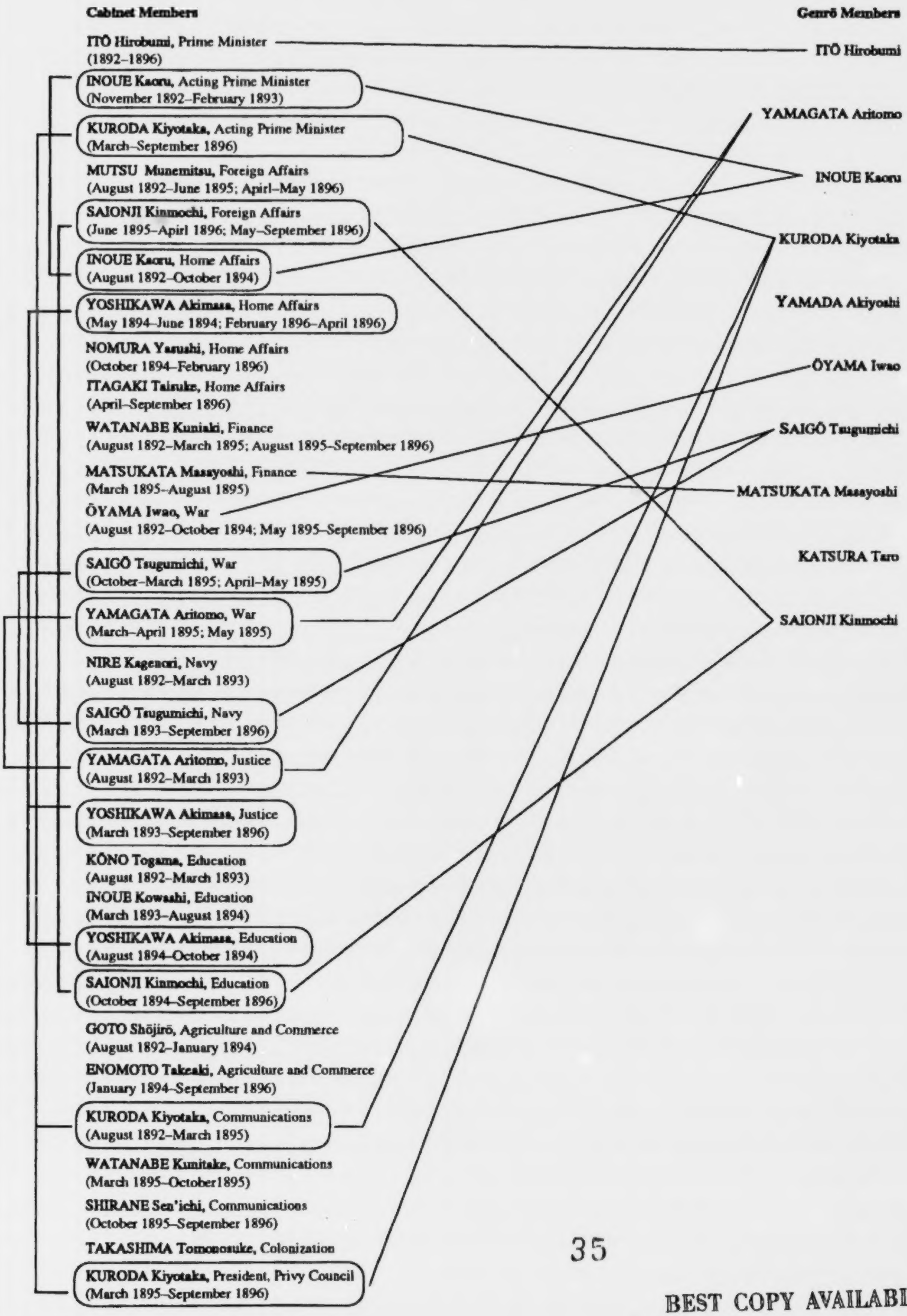
WATANABE Kunitake, Communications
(March 1895–October 1895)

SHIRANE Sen'ichi, Communications
(October 1895–September 1896)

TAKASHIMA Tomonosuke, Colonization

KURODA Kiyotaka, President, Privy Council
(March 1895–September 1896)

Answer Sheet Handout A



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(October 1894–February 1896)

ITAGAKI Taisuke, Home Affairs
(April–September 1896)

WATANABE Kuniaki, Finance
(August 1892–March 1895; August 1895–September 1896)

MATSUKATA Masayoshi, Finance
(March 1895–August 1895)

ŌYAMA Iwao, War
(August 1892–October 1894; May 1895–September 1896)

SAIGŌ Tsugumichi, War
(October–March 1895; April–May 1895)

YAMAGATA Aritomo, War
(March–April 1895; May 1895)

NIRE Kagenori, Navy
(August 1892–March 1893)

SAIGŌ Tsugumichi, Navy
(March 1893–September 1896)

YAMAGATA Aritomo, Justice
(August 1892–March 1893)

YOSHIKAWA Akimasa, Justice
(March 1893–September 1896)

KŌNO Togama, Education
(August 1892–March 1893)

INOUE Kowashi, Education
(March 1893–August 1894)

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(October 1895–September 1896)

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(March 1895–September 1896)

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YAMAGATA Aritomo

INOUE Kaoru

KURODA Kiyotaka

YAMADA Akiyoshi

ŌYAMA Iwao

SAIGŌ Tsugumichi

MATSUKATA Masayoshi

KATSURA Taro

SAIONJI Kinmochi

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Questions: The Meiji Constitution (continued)

1. In theory, who held the greatest power under the Meiji Constitution? In reality, who held the greatest power? Explain this statement: "Under the Meiji Constitution, the emperor reigned but he did not rule."

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. In theory, all power resided in the emperor. In practice, power was shared by a small group of elder statesmen, the *genrō*, who ruled in the emperor's name. The emperor, a much-revered figure, reigned, as many kings and queens do today, as an important unifying symbol and as a ceremonial monarch.

2. From what you have read and the chart you filled in, explain which person or group was most likely to be able to get something done under the Meiji Constitution: the emperor, the cabinet, the *genrō,* the Diet, the army and navy, the people. Explain your response.

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. The *genrō* seem to be the group most likely to get something done. They could be found in almost every cabinet ministry and simultaneously had their own function as advisers to the emperor. Their power was pervasive.

Music from the Compact Disc

Japan had no national anthem until the Meiji period when the need for an anthem became clear. *Kimi ga Yo,* which means "The Reign of Our Emperor," is based on an ancient poem set to music by a court musician, Hiromi Hayashi. Then the German bandmaster of the Marine Band harmonized it and arranged it for Western instruments. It was played at court the first time in 1881 for the Meiji Emperor's birthday.

The imperial reign, may it last
A thousand, eight thousand years
Until pebbles became a boulder
Covered with mosses.

Questions: The Story of Kanji

1. Write three words that describe the lives of peasant farmers and their families in Meiji Japan. Then explain the reasons for your choices.

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses.

2. Speculate on what might have happened to Kanji's children as they grew up. What was the most likely role for his daughter Otsugi in village society at this time? What about his son? Speculate on what might have happened to Yokichi as he grew older.

Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. The most likely role for Otsugi was marriage—if possible into a family better off than her own. However, this was sure to be difficult because she had few material goods to bring to a prospective bridegroom's family. Given the time frame for this story, Yokichi would have been drafted into the army when he grew older. Then he would have inherited what little land his father had to leave him.

3. Did Kanji have any possibilities for improving his condition in life? Why or why not? Had you found yourself in Kanji's dire straits, what options do you think you might have considered to make life for yourself and your children better? List as many as you can think of.

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. Kanji did not have many options. He was already in debt. He could have sold his children, which he did not do, or sent them into indentured servitude. (Although the text does not mention the possibility, boys were also sent away to live and work in other families when times were hard.) Kanji could have moved to the city, where he might have been able to find some kind of employment; he might also have ended up as a beggar there. He also could have considered emigrating to another country.

Questions: A Sister Sold

1. Why did these parents sell their daughter into prostitution? Do you think this act meant they did not love her or care what happened to her? Explain your response.

   Possible responses: The family sold their daughter to save the rest of the family from poverty.

2. How did the mother explain to the younger sister why her older sister was gone? What kind of "debt" does the younger sister owe to her older sister?

   Possible responses: The mother told the younger sister that the older sister had gone to a far-off place to save the other members of the family. The younger sister owes a debt of gratitude to the older sister for sacrificing herself for the good of the family.

3. How did the younger sister feel when she saw her older sister? What were her feelings toward her older sister's clients?

   Possible responses: The younger sister wept when she saw what had happened to the older sister, who was put "on display in a shameful fashion" in the brothel. She hated her older sister's clients and could hardly contain her anger toward them.

4. How did the younger sister think the problem of prostitution should be solved? How likely do you think it was that her wish was granted?

    Possible responses: The younger sister wished that the government would ban prostitution. Although the government outlawed selling girls for prostitution in 1872, and various reformers tried to rescue girls from brothels, the system remained in effect until after World War II.

Music from the Compact Disc

The song *Tankō Bushi* ("The Coal Miner's Song") was first sung during the Meiji period by coal miners in Fukuoka prefecture. Today it is played at *bon* dances in both Japan and Hawai'i as part of *O-bon*, a Buddhist summer festival to honor one's ancestors. The movements of the folk dance pantomime digging coal, loading and pushing a heavy cart, and wiping perspiration from the brow.

Activity: The Textile Workers

Students need to keep their notes on this image of a silk-reeling factory in Tōkyō, 1872. They will use them again after they read about life in Japan's thread mills and read "Song of the Living Corpses."

a. When students describe the **content** of the image, they should describe what they see: women working in a silk factory. Baskets of cocoons are clearly visible, although it is difficult to see the threads from the cocoons actually being threaded onto the silk-reeling machine in the foreground.

b. The historical **context** of the image appears to be early in Japan's industrial development. Given the clothing people are wearing, the kind of technology depicted, and the figure of the man shown hauling buckets of water, students should be able to surmise that the image was probably created in the 1870s or 1880s. Because the technology is fairly simple (it appears that the machinery is being operated by the man in the middle panel), it is logical to assume that the image depicts an early stage of industrialization in Japan. (Steam-powered machinery was introduced later.)

c. Accept reasonable **inferences** about the image. Students might note that the image implies that this silk-reeling factory was a pleasant place to work. At least a few of the workers seem to have been able to talk with each other, and they seem to have been able to reel the threads onto the spinning frame skillfully enough that a substantial amount of raw silk fibers were produced.

d. Accept reasonable questions about the image; some of them may be answered in the reading entitled "Life in the Thread Mills."

Questions: "Song of the Living Corpses"

1. Why is the singer of this song working in this cotton-spinning factory?

   Possible responses: The singer is working in the factory because her family was poor and sold her to "a fox without a tail," a reference to recruiters who traveled throughout the countryside looking for girls to work in the textile factories, all the while assuring parents that their daughters would be cared for.

2. How does she feel about her parents?

   Possible responses: The singer loves her parents. She wants to board the first train for home. She knows they will weep when they learn how hard her life in the factory has been.

3. The singer hints that the factory is not too far from the railroad station. Why doesn't she just run away?

   Possible responses: Girls often did run away, escaping the doorkeeper or guard. However, those who were caught were often beaten. And those who did escape caused problems for their families, who had to pay back, in full, the money the factory had advanced to them for their daughters' wages.

4. As difficult as life was in the textile factories, it was considered better than being sold into prostitution or returning to work on the family farm. Why do you think this was so?

   Possible responses: Unlike girls sold into prostitution, factory workers had some autonomy once their contracts were up. Some continued to work in the factories when their period of indentured servitude was over so they could support themselves and send money home. They were not ostracized from the larger society as former prostitutes often were. Furthermore, for some of them, factory work may well have been easier than the unrelenting labor of the family farm. Factory workers got enough to eat, or at least something to eat, which was not always true during bad times in the countryside.

Activity: The Textile Workers (continued)

1. Retrieve your notes analyzing the woodblock print of the silk mill.

   Possible responses: Use the following questions to help students speculate on why the conditions shown in the print and those described in the song are so different. These questions should help students grapple with historical sources that present contradictory information.

2. Use your notes to compare the conditions depicted in the silk mill in the woodblock print with those described in the song about the living corpses, which was sung in the cotton mills. Why were the working conditions depicted in the print so different from those described in the song?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Point out that the woodblock print, which is dated 1872, early in the Meiji era, depicts life in a silk-reeling factory. Conditions in silk-reeling factories, at least initially, when they were run by the offspring of former samurai, were usually acceptable. Later, when modernization speeded up and more workers were needed, conditions in the silk factories deteriorated. Life in the cotton mills was never good by today's standards. These mills were built in the 1880s and 1890s, and conditions in them were poor from the outset.

   Let students speculate about why the woodblock print might have been created. You can tell them at the end of the discussion that the print, which depicts a cheerful all-female work force in a spotlessly clean silk-reeling factory, may have been an ad for a private company that had just acquired the new—and very modern—machinery being operated by the man in the middle panel.

   For further information about this print, see *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization,* by Julia Meech-Pekarik (New York & Tōkyō: Weatherhill), 1986.

3. Look carefully at the two photographs of the silk workers. Why might the working conditions depicted in the photographs be so different from those described in the song?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Perhaps conditions in the silk mills, even at the end of the nineteenth century, were better than those in the cotton mills. Or perhaps everyday conditions in the mills in the photo were usually much worse but were cleaned up for the photographer's visit. Or perhaps conditions in the cotton mills were not as bad as the song suggests.

4. When historical sources contradict each other, what are some of the steps to take in order to decide which ones are "true"?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Students should understand that they would have to consult many other sources, such as other photos and songs, letters, records from the mills documenting production, number of hours worked, funds allocated for workers' lodging and food, and strike records to reconstruct the world of factory workers in Meiji Japan.

5. In your opinion, which of the sources, the woodblock print, the photographs, or the song, provide the most accurate account of life in the thread mills of Meiji Japan? Explain your response.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Although students may see the photographs as the most objective source, because presumably the camera does not lie, encourage them to consider whether this is actually so.

6. If you found two contradictory accounts of life in the same cotton mill in 1897, one written by the mill owner and one by a factory girl, which one would you believe? Why?

   Possible Responses: Accept reasonable responses. Point out that both writers probably believe they are telling the truth.

Activity: Writing a Letter

The purpose of this activity is to help students synthesize the information in this section, especially information about the lives of ordinary people during the Meiji period. The details they include should be historically plausible. Students need their letters to take part in the following activity.

Activity: Role-Playing

The purpose of this activity is to help students decide whether the benefits of Japan's rapid modernization were worth the costs, especially the human costs. Groups of students will probably need help creating their "prompts." Although the role-play itself seems to be the centerpiece of this activity, the debriefing is the most crucial.

Debriefing

Discuss these questions as a class:

a. Could a group discussion similar to this role-play ever have happened in Japan in 1912? Why or why not?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. It is extraordinarily unlikely that such a disparate group of people would have ever had a discussion similar to this in Japan in 1912. And it is inconceivable that a member of the *genrō* would have met in such an egalitarian setting with common folk. Nevertheless, the role-play gives students a vehicle to consider the costs and benefits of modernization during the Meiji era.

b. Did group members have differences of opinion about the value of modernization? What were the differences based on?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

c. Japan's rapid modernization during the Meiji era has been called "a cruel choice." Why? What choice did Japan have to make during the Meiji era?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Japan had to decide whether to proceed with modernization, regardless of the human cost. Japan knew from the example of its neighbors, especially China, that if it failed to modernize, it could end up like China, under foreign domination. So a choice had to be made, even though the human costs were high and sometimes seemed cruel.

d. If you had been a policy maker during the Meiji era, would you, like most of those in power, have opted for modernization? Why or why not?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

e. Looking back from the perspective of 1912, do you think Japan made the right choice when it decided to modernize, regardless of the cost? Why or why not?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. From the perspective of 1912, it certainly seemed Japan made the right decision. By then Japan was a nation to be reckoned with; it had won two wars. It had taken its place on the world stage as a modern country.

f. Looking back from the perspective of today, do you think Japan made the right choice when it decided to modernize during the Meiji era? Do you think the benefits of rapid modernization outweighed its costs? Why or why not?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Extension Activities

Extension Activity 6 lists possible photograph collections for students to peruse. Teachers should know that several of these collections include photographs of semi-nude women. During the Meiji Restoration, the government tried to protect what it considered foreign sensibilities by encouraging its citizens to be less casual about nudity—in a country where mixed communal bathing was common. At the same time, some Western photographers eroticized nudity, taking photos of semi-nude Japanese women, apparently for the Western export market. Several of the photograph collections also include images of executions, including decapitations.

10 periods

CHAPTER 2. MODERNIZATION, CRISIS, AND WAR, 1912 TO 1945

Section 1. Taishō: Challenging Authority and Tradition, 1912–1926

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will learn that modernization changed Japan's economy, with the urban modern sector growing much faster than the traditional rural sector. New wealth created by industry became concentrated in an emerging urban business class, but farmers and factory workers saw little improvement in their standard of living.

2. Students will understand that Japanese living in cities were influenced much more by Western technologies and ideologies than rural residents were. As a result, cities became centers of modernization and liberalism, but the countryside remained conservative and traditional.

3. Students will appreciate that during the Taishō era, Japanese citizens succeeded to some extent in democratizing their country. Labor unions and political groups demanding more say in the political process, along with the Taishō political crisis and the Rice Riots of 1918, pressed the government to make political reforms. These reforms brought universal manhood suffrage and increased power for the Diet. But the government also promulgated the Peace Preservation Law of 1925, which made it easier to suppress political dissent.

4. Students will comprehend that during the Taishō era, a small group of women tried, with only modest success, to gain equal rights for women. Most Japanese women retained their submissive role in a very patriarchal society. Most marriages were arranged, and most women had little or no say in choosing a husband or selecting living arrangements.

5. Students will learn that during the Taishō period, Japan continued trying to expand its empire by forcing China to turn over economic control of Manchuria and part of Mongolia. Japan's aggressive actions in China provoked hostility to Japan by the Chinese and distrust of Japan by the Western powers. To Japan the West's efforts to limit Japanese influence in China seemed hypocritical and based on a double standard, one for Western powers, another for an Asian power.

KEY CONCEPTS

Democratization: the introduction and/or expansion of democracy and its characteristic features, such as protection of the rights of individuals, constitutional government, freedom of expression, equal rights for all persons, political decision-making by majority rule, and political liberty.

Ideology: A systematic set of ideas, with moral overtones, about human beings and society that directs the choices people make in their social and political worlds. Those believing in a particular ideology follow its dictates faithfully.

Imperialism: Domination and extension of a nation's authority over another nation; one country's dominance over the economic and political affairs of a weaker country. Traditionally, imperialism has referred to European nations which during the nineteenth century turned weaker places into protectorates, spheres of influence, or colonies. Japan became an imperialist power in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Nationalism: The desire for national advancement or independence; loyalty and devotion to the interests of a nation, a country, or group of people having a common language and culture. Promoting the culture and interests of a nation, with an emphasis on national rather than international goals. A desire for one's country to be free from foreign domination.

Pan–Asian: Embracing all of Asia; advocating unity and cooperation among Asian peoples or nations.

Westernization: In this book, the process of conversion to or adoption of the traditions, ideas, and technology of the industrialized countries of Europe and North America.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

Allies
anarchism
capitalism
communism
covenant
empire
ideology
imperialism
kokutai
League of Nations
narikin
patriarchal
Peace Preservation Law, 1925
proletariat
Shōwa
socialism
spheres of influence
Taishō democracy
Taishō Political Crisis
Twenty-one Demands
Washington Conference

STUDENTS WILL

1. analyze graphs of Japan's economy to understand the growth of its modern sector;
2. create and analyze a bar graph of Japan's population growth;
3. compare and contrast two sets of governing principles, one from 1912, the other from 1924, by one of Japan's largest labor unions, to determine how those principles changed over the years;
4. paraphrase the lyrics of a popular protest song to discern people's grievances against political and economic leaders;
5. make a graphic representation of political power distribution during the Meiji period, then modify this representation to fit the Taishō era after considering the changes brought about by the Taishō political crisis and the granting of universal male suffrage;
6. read, paraphrase, and analyze the Peace Preservation Law to determine whether its provisions were compatible with democracy;
7. read about the life of a daughter-in-law in a poor farming family and the life of a young wife in a well-to-do urban family; and
8. compare aspects of life in a big city with those of life in a small rural village through reading first-hand accounts.

MATERIALS

Students will need Handout A, "A Shifting Population," graph paper, and colored pencils, pens, or markers. Handout A follows on next page.

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

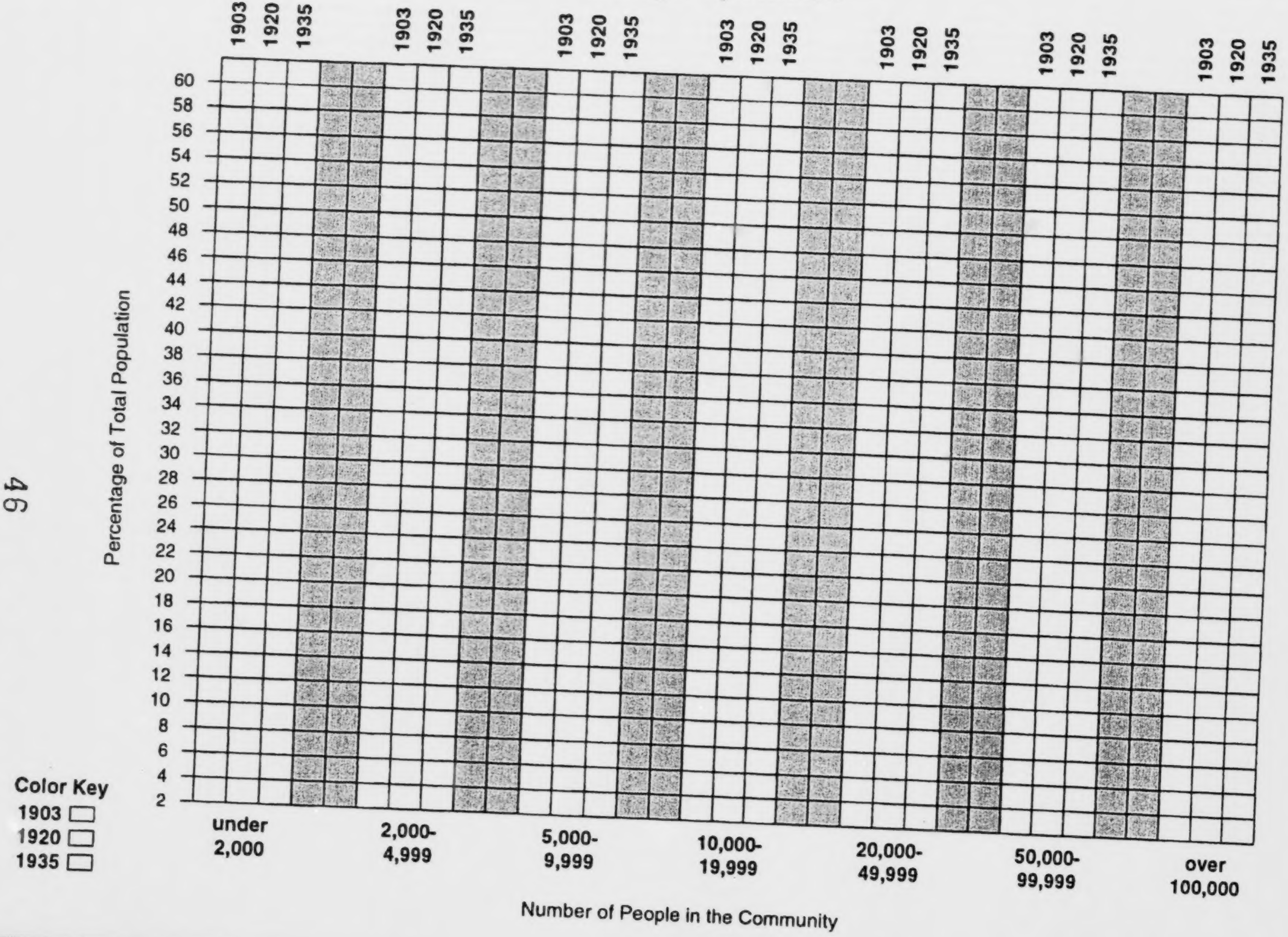
Activity: A Changing Economy

Questions

1. From the graphs, what conclusions can you draw about growth in the traditional and modern sectors of the economy between 1910 and 1929?

HANDOUT A

A Shifting Population



Possible response: Growth in the modern sector of the economy far outstripped growth in the traditional sector of the economy.

2. Where do you think the modern sector of the economy and the traditional sector of the economy were centered?

   Possible responses: Growth in the modern sector of the economy came in urban areas where the transportation and power sources necessary for production were. In the traditional sector of the economy, mining and agriculture were in rural areas. Fisheries were in both rural and urban coastal areas.

Activity: Changes in Population

4. From your completed bar graph, answer these questions:

   a. Between 1903 and 1935, communities of what size gained most as a percentage of the total population?

      Possible responses: The percentage of people living in communities of over 100,000 increased from 9.2% to 25.4%.

   b. Between 1903 and 1935, communities of what size lost most as a percentage of the total population?

      Possible responses: The percentage of people living in communities of 2,000 to 4,999 decreased from 51.8% to 30.5%.

   c. What percentage of the population lived in communities under 10,000 people in 1903? In 1920? In 1935?

      Possible responses: In 1903: 79.3%; in 1920: 63.4%; and in 1935: 54.2%.

   d. What conclusions can you draw about where Japanese people lived between 1903 and 1935?

      Possible responses: The percentage of people living in communities of under 10,000 people became smaller (even though it was still more than 50 percent) while the percentage of people living in communities of over 50,000 increased dramatically.

   e. Between 1905 and 1935, by how many people did Japan's population increase? Where did most of this population growth occur?

      Possible response: The population increased by 21,576,000, mostly in communities of over 100,000.

f. What might explain the growing percentage of people living in larger communities?

Possible responses: People might have migrated to the cities and large towns to find better jobs. Younger people who migrated to urban areas not only stayed in cities and large towns; they married, had children, and then raised their families there, adding to the population growth in these areas.

Activity: Labor Becomes More Militant

Questions

1. According to the "Basic Principles Governing Yuaikai, 1912," what should have been the relationship between workers and capitalists?

   Possible responses: The principles called for friendly cooperation between workers and capitalists for the benefit of each group.

2. In "The Position of Yuaikai, 1912," what did the union feel it had been unfairly accused of?

   Possible responses: The union felt it had been falsely accused of being socialist and of inciting workers.

3. According to "The Position of Yuaikai, 1912," what was the bond that tied capitalists and workers together?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Both groups were beloved subjects of the emperor and "sons of men."

4. According to "Basic Principles of Sodomei [formerly Yuaikai], 1924," what was the relationship between workers and capitalists?

   Possible responses: By 1924 the relationship was hostile and belligerent. "We firmly believe the working class and capitalist class cannot exist side by side."

5. How did the 1924 excerpt say the union could achieve its goals through political means?

   Possible responses: The union said it could further its goal through universal suffrage, effective voting, and developing political awareness among the proletariat.

6. Why do you suppose the union became so radical?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Little or no progress had been made by the union when it was willing to work together with the capitalists, so union leaders became frustrated and more militant.

Activity: "Carefree"

1. Work with a partner to interpret the lyrics to "Carefree." That is, for each stanza write a short paragraph using your own words to convey the meaning behind the sarcasm. Who was the victim and who was the victimizer in each stanza? What did the lyrics say about what was needed to improve people's lives?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Selfish business leaders grew richer at the expense of ordinary citizens, who were told that poverty was good. Citizens had to suffer poor schools, a poor diet, poor living conditions, and spiraling prices. Despite the lack of voting rights for most citizens, they were expected to be patriotic and take pride in the growing strength of the nation. Better education and living conditions, controls on inflation, and voting rights were necessary to improve people's lives.

2. How did ordinary citizens see their lives in this song?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Ordinary citizens had to suffer broken-down schools, poverty, and lack of voting rights while uncaring business leaders told them that they had to work hard. They felt as if they were being taken advantage of, all in the name of strengthening the nation. The nation grew stronger, but so did the misery that ordinary citizens suffered at the hands of the capitalists.

3. Think of another name for the song. Is there another word you can substitute for "Carefree"?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Activity: Mapping Political Power

1. In the representation you drew, which entity wielded the most actual power during the Meiji period? Which entity wielded the least? Explain your answers.

   Possible responses: From the students' representations, they should be able to see that the *genrō* wielded the most real power; the Diet had the least.

2. To make the government more democratic, what changes would you make in the relative power of these entities? Explain the reasons for your changes.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Reducing the power of the *genrō*, which was not a constitutionally recognized group, while increasing the power of the elected Diet would have allowed the people to exert more influence on the government.

Activity: Increasing the Electorate

1. What percentage of the total population voted in 1902, 1920, and 1928?
   Possible responses: In 1902 it was 2.17%; in 1920 it was 5.49%; and in 1928 it was 19.43%.

2. By how many people did the electorate increase between 1902 and 1928?
   Possible responses: It increased by 11,425,885 people.

3. The next increase in the Japanese electorate didn't occur until 1947. Which group of citizens do you suppose were given the right to vote then?
   Possible responses: The postwar Japanese constitution gave women the right to vote.

4. What are some dates when American voting rights significantly expanded?
   Possible responses: Following the Civil War, Amendment XVI to the Constitution gave former slaves the right to vote. (But many southern states created restrictions that kept most African Americans from voting.) In 1920 women received the right to vote. Voting rights legislation in 1964 and 1965 did away with voting restrictions in the South targeted against African Americans. In 1971 the voting age was lowered from twenty-one to eighteen by Amendment XXVI to the Constitution.

Questions: The Peace Preservation Law

1. Before answering the following questions, rewrite the Articles of the Peace Preservation Law in your own words.
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable paraphrases of the law.

2. Which clause of Article 1 do you think the authors of this law felt was most important? Explain.
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. The section about "changing the *kokutai*" was probably the most important part of Article 1 and of the Peace Preservation Law. Any statement, publication, or action that seemed to threaten or challenge the vague concept of *kokutai* could subject the transgressor to legal punishment.

3. How might this law have affected people's willingness to criticize the government or to support others who might do so?
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. This law might have kept people from criticizing the government because government officials could interpret the criticism as a threat to the *kokutai*, punishable by imprisonment.

4. Do you think it would have been possible to develop a democratic government under the conditions of the Peace Preservation Law? Explain.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Developing democracy without freedom of speech or assembly would have been almost impossible. The government could silence any opposition by declaring its positions incompatible with *kokutai.*

5. Why might labor groups in particular have been adamantly opposed to the Peace Preservation Law?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Labor groups were probably worried that any conflict with management might be construed as anti-capitalist. Many labor leaders and union members were also socialists and therefore opposed capitalism.

Activity: Democracy During Taishō

Questions

1. Explain how democracy in the Taishō period differed from democracy during the Meiji era.

   a. Which entity or entities lost the most power?

      Possible responses: The *genrō* lost the most real power from the Meiji to the Taishō eras. Many of the original *genrō* had died by the Taishō period, and the Taishō political crisis limited the power of the remaining *genrō* to independently name cabinets.

   b. Which entity or entities gained the most power?

      Possible responses: The Diet gained the most power. After the Taishō political crisis, cabinets were chosen from among Diet members. This change gave more power to citizens, who voted for Diet members.

   c. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* defines *representative democracy* as "a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them indirectly through a system of representation and delegated authority in which the people choose their officials and representatives at periodically held free elections." According to this definition, which government was more democratic, Meiji or Taishō? Explain your answer.

      Possible responses: With the greater power gained by the Diet and the increase in the electorate, the government became more democratic during the Taishō period.

Questions: "Bog Rhubarb Shoots"

1. The main character of the story is always referred to as the "young wife" or "Uichi's wife" but never by her own name. Explain why you think this may be.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. The main character's importance or identity derives from her position in the family. She lives a life of servitude and is not allowed to think of herself as an individual.

2. What was the young wife's role in the household of her husband's family? In what ways was she valuable to the family?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. She was the best weaver in the family and brought in much-needed income. She also did chores for the family. And she provided her husband with a son and heir.

3. Traditionally, the male head of the household was the most powerful figure in the Japanese family and home. In what you read, who held the most power in the family in the story? Did Uichi's absence affect who held the most power?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. The father would typically have the most power in the family, but in this story he is content with tending to his fields and letting his wife manage the family. When Uichi is home, he is the most powerful family member. When he is away, his mother acts on his behalf.

4. The wife slaved away at the loom with no luxuries or time to relax and enjoy her son. What helped her endure these hardships? Why did she work so hard?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. She worked hard out of a sense of duty to her husband and son. She was able to endure the hardships when Uichi first left by living for the day he would return and they would be together. Later, the little time she has with her son helps her endure her hardships.

5. Why didn't the young wife run away?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Running away was not an option. As an orphan, the young wife had no family to run to. And if she had run away, she would have had to abandon her son, for children in such cases always stayed with their father or his side of the family. Maybe the young wife did not even think of running away because duty was so strongly ingrained in the traditional Japanese ethic.

6. How do you think the young wife might treat her future daughter-in-law?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Perhaps the young wife would treat her daughter-in-law kindly, because she had suffered so much. Or perhaps she would treat a daughter-in-law the same way she was treated—badly. According to the traditional Japanese view, a young wife's role was to serve the family and obey the wishes of her mother-in-law, no matter what hardships she might have to endure.

Questions: Makiko's Diary

1. What do you think Makiko's relationship with her mother-in-law is like?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Their relationship is warm and cordial. Makiko is treated more like a daughter than a daughter-in-law.

2. To what social class does Makiko's family belong? Provide evidence for your answer.

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Makiko and her family could be described as upper class. Makiko can afford to go to concerts and take cooking lessons. Her family has electricity, a telephone, several maids, and art works. Makiko's husband is a well-known pharmacist.

3. Did Makiko perform any work for her husband's family?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. According to excerpts here, she helped with the accounting. She also helped run the household, cooking, cleaning, and sewing, but that is not recounted in these excerpts.

4. Describe Makiko's relationship with her husband. How was it different from the young wife's relationship with Uichi?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Makiko didn't talk much about her husband, but her husband is obviously much kinder than Uichi. He seems to treat her with respect.

5. Apparently Makiko's husband approved of her taking Western cooking lessons. Why do you think he did?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Makiko's husband defended Western clothing in an argument with a friend. The story suggests that he may have enjoyed Western things.

6. If Makiko and Uichi's wife traded places, how do you think they would have reacted to their new circumstances?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

7. Do Makiko and Uichi's wife have anything in common?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Both work for their in-laws. Both have household duties. They seem to have little else in common.

Questions: The Ginza Street

1. Write five adjectives that describe the sights and sounds of the Ginza Street.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Modern, Western, busy, crowded, exciting, rich, diverse, noisy, etc.

2. What reasons for going to the Ginza are mentioned in the reading?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. People went to the Ginza to shop, window-shop, be seen, beg, sightsee, eat, work, stroll, or ride electric trams.

3. What economic classes did the people in the Ginza belong to? Give examples.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Many economic groups were represented: the rich—those with servants and those shopping in expensive stores for Western goods; the relatively well-off—merchants and those shopping in less-expensive stores; the poor—vendors in night stalls; and the destitute—beggars.

4. What kind of people were likely to wear the latest European fashions, shop in the European-style buildings, and buy foreign goods?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Wealthy people were most likely to wear the latest European fashions and buy foreign goods.

Questions: Share Otoko (The Dandy, 1924)

1. How does the *mobo* in this song see himself?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. He sees himself as stylish, sophisticated, and desired by women.

2. How do you suppose the *mobo* behaved when he was in the village?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. As the son of the village head, the *mobo* had the money and freedom to keep up with the latest fads while other villagers were preoccupied with day-to-day work. He probably flaunted his Western clothes and possessions and looked down on other villagers.

3. Why do you suppose the *mobo* went to the Ginza? What does he learn about life in Tōkyō?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. He went to pursue all the excitement, luxury, and romance associated with life in the cities. He soon discovers the dark side of the city when he is beaten and robbed by a jealous husband.

4. What sorts of problems do you think country people had when they moved to big cities?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. People from the rural areas probably were overwhelmed by the modern things around them, the loud motors of streetcars, the bright electric lights, and Western clothing. The feverish pace of the city probably shocked them. If they came alone, they were no longer a member of a family and village network and were almost sure to feel isolated in the city, where individualism was celebrated.

Questions: "Sakura Village"

1. Write five adjectives that describe life in Sakura village.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Poor, difficult, austere, simple, Spartan, etc.

2. What were some of the biggest problems confronting the people of Sakura village? What kinds of measures did people take to make ends meet?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Making a living was difficult for many peasant farmers, who faced high rents and the danger of losing their small plots of land. Farmers often had to borrow money from wealthy farmers or rich merchants. If they couldn't pay their rent and lost their land, they would become day laborers. They might have to sell daughters and sons as farmhands; they might even have to sell their daughters into brothels. Villagers made their own tatami mats and clothing, and they picked medicinal plants to avoid paying for a doctor's services.

3. Imagine some folks from Sakura village suddenly transported to the Ginza. What would they have thought of the scene around them? What would they have found strange and unusual?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Someone from Sakura village might have found the noise, crowds, transportation, shops, and diverse classes strange and bewildering.

Questions: National Unity and Building an Empire

1. What does the map on page 112 suggest about where Japanese and European interests might clash?

   Possible responses: There is potential for clashes in China because Japan and European powers compete for influence there.

2. Compared with other imperial powers, what is unique about the location of Japan's possessions?

   Possible responses: Japanese possessions are near Japan, while European possessions are a great distance from Europe.

3. Which southeast Asian nation was not dominated by a foreign power in 1914?

   Possible responses: Siam (Thailand).

10 periods

CHAPTER 2. MODERNIZATION, CRISIS, AND WAR, 1912 TO 1945

Section 2. Shōwa: Economic Crisis and the Rise of Militarism, 1926–1937

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will learn that economic depression brought severe hardships to the Japanese people, especially those in rural areas.

2. Students will come to understand that widespread discontent, brought on by economic crisis, focused on Japanese politicians and business leaders.

3. Students will learn that ultranationalists blamed Japan's troubles on politicians and businessmen who had adopted Western ways of thinking. In particular, the ultranationalists believed that accepting the Western idea of individualism had made politicians and businessmen selfish and uncaring toward the people and the nation.

4. Students will understand why radical nationalists attempted coups and why the public often sympathized with their motives.

5. Students will learn that the Kwantung Army, acting independently of the government in Tōkyō, seized Manchuria, beginning the rise of the militarists to power.

6. Students will understand that Japan's expansion on the Asian mainland brought condemnation from the West and isolated Japan from the rest of the world. This isolation in turn helped create a war psychology among the Japanese.

7. Students will learn why many viewed the military as the only force in society that could bring social order and economic recovery and protect Japan's national interests in Asia.

8. Students will understand why Japanese leaders adopted *kokutai* as a national ideology and how citizens were taught devotion to the emperor and the nation.

KEY CONCEPTS

Ideology: A systematic set of ideas, with moral overtones, about human beings and society that direct the choices people make in their social and political worlds. Those believing in a particular ideology follow its dictates faithfully.

Imperialism: Domination and extension of a nation's authority over another nation; one country's dominance over the economic and political affairs of a weaker country. Traditionally, imperialism has referred to nations like Great Britain, which during the nineteenth century turned weaker places into protectorates, spheres of influence, or colonies. Japan became an imperialist power in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Individualism: The principle or belief that the interests of the individual are of the utmost importance.

Nationalism: The desire for national advancement or independence; loyalty and devotion to the interests of a nation, a country, or group of people having a common language and culture. Promoting the culture and interests of a nation, with an emphasis on national rather than international goals. A desire for one's country to be free from foreign domination. See also *ultranationalism*.

Ultranationalism: Extreme devotion to national interests and the rights of one's own nation with little or no concern for foreign relations and often at the expense of another nation or people.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

cabinet
coup d'état (coup)
Diet
filial piety
kokutai
Kokutai no Hongi
Kwantung Army
League of Nations
left, left-wing
Manchukuo
Manchuria
manifesto
militarist
party government
right, right wing
Shōwa
Taishō
ultranationalism
zaibatsu

STUDENTS WILL

1. read and analyze a newspaper article about the plight of Japanese farmers;
2. present a dramatic reading of a primary source, a revolutionary manifesto;
3. read and analyze a Japanese newspaper editorial on Japan's attitude toward the rest of the world following the takeover of Manchuria;
4. read and analyze the table of contents and excerpts from *Kokutai no Hongi*; and
5. read and analyze a lesson from a Japanese textbook designed to teach patriotic values.

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Questions: Starving Farmers

1. Use five adjectives to describe the living conditions reported in the article.
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Desperate, poor, pathetic, extreme, frightening, dangerous, and unhealthy.

2. What extreme actions did many take to survive?
   Possible responses: Many sold their children, stole food, ate fertilizer, bartered, and committed arson for insurance money.

3. How did the farmers feel about what the government had done to help them? What did they warn would happen if the government didn't take steps to improve their conditions?
   Possible response: Farmers felt the government had avoided dealing with their problems. They warned that the present system of government would "be disrupted." Many farmers had already become radicalized.

Questions: The May 15 Manifesto

1. According to the manifesto,

   a. What or who were the causes of Japan's problems?
   Possible responses: Political parties cared only about their own interests. Together with plutocrats, parties used the people for their own benefit. National education and foreign policy were weak, and ideology was falling apart.

   b. What did the young officers mean when they called for "direct action"?
   Possible responses: They were calling for an armed revolt by Japanese citizens against their government.

   c. What did government figures lack that was necessary to build "a glorious and restored Japan"?
   Possible responses: They lacked great national spirit.

2. Do you think the young officers thought their actions were treasonous? Explain your answer.
   Possible responses: No. They saw themselves as patriots who wanted to restore Japan's glory and rid it of the people's enemies. They asked the people to join them in the emperor's name.

3. What segment of society do you think this manifesto may have appealed to most?

   Possible responses: It may have appealed to people who felt victimized by the party system, by big business and *narikin*, by the bureaucracy, and by widespread political corruption. The manifesto specifically addressed peasants and workers.

4. What did the young officers mean when they said, "We want to raise the banner of the Shōwa Restoration"?

   Possible responses: They wanted to rid Japan of its corrupt self-interested leaders and return the emperor to his rightful role, providing guidance for building Japan. The young officers saw themselves as latter-day patriots like the men who launched the Meiji Restoration. (See Chapter 1, Section 2.)

5. Following the failed coup, the young officers were promptly arrested. Their sentences were lenient—four to fifteen years—and most of those sentences were commuted. Overthrowing the government is a grave offense. In your opinion, why was their punishment so light?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Public support for the officers was so strong that harsher punishment might have provoked angry public protest against the government.

Questions: Japan Is Ready to Fight the World

1. What was the overall tone of the editorial?

   Possible responses: The tone was hostile, belligerent, and warlike.

2. According to the editorial, what showed Woodrow Wilson to be a hypocrite?

   Possible responses: The editorial said that while Wilson called for justice and humanity, he also worked to defeat a clause in the treaty that called for racial equality.

3. According to the editorial, how were Western leaders racist in their dealings with Japan?

   Possible responses: The editorial contended that Western leaders were racist in trying to establish "despotism of the white race."

4. According to the editorial, what was the true purpose of the League of Nations?

   Possible responses: The true purpose of the League, according to the editorial, was to "deceive men."

5. According to the editorial, how should Japan treat the United States and Europe if they continue to deny Japan's right to control Manchuria?

Possible responses: The editorial states that Japan should sever relations with America and deny Europe, meaning refuse to recognize Europe.

6. Reread the second sentence of the last paragraph. In the context of imperialism, what do you think the phrase "Japan's natural development" meant?
   Possible responses: In the context of imperialism, it meant extending Japanese control and influence on the Asian mainland.

7. If you were a Japanese citizen, how might an editorial like this have affected your feelings toward the United States and the rest of the world?
   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Questions: *Kokutai no Hongi* (Table of Contents)

1. From the topics listed in Section 1, what can you conclude that the authors of this book wanted readers to believe about the origins of Japan?
   Possible responses: Japan had divine origins. Emperors were descended from the Sun Goddess.

2. Section 2 includes the topics "The Emperor," "Piety," and "Love for the People." How do you suppose piety entered into the relationship between the emperor and the people?
   Possible responses: The people had to revere the emperor as a father figure.

3. What do the topics listed in Section 4 suggest about the ways the people were united as one?
   Possible responses: They were united as one with the sovereign, or emperor.

Questions: *Kokutai no Hongi* (Excerpt)

1. According to the reading, how did subjects have to serve the emperor?
   Possible responses: They had to respect and revere the emperor, obey him, be loyal to him, and sacrifice their lives for him if called upon to do so.

2. According to the reading, what was the difference between patriotism in Japan and patriotism in other countries?
   Possible responses: According to the excerpt, patriotism in other countries lacked loyalty and reverence for gods and ancestors.

3. Japanese military leaders were accused by the West of fostering an emperor "cult." Look up *cult* in a dictionary. Judging from the table of contents and the excerpts from the *Kokutai no Hongi,* do you believe this accusation to be true? Explain your answer and show evidence for your position.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

4. From reading the excerpts and the table of contents, in what ways do you think the authors felt that *kokutai* was unique to the Japanese?

   Possible responses: According to the excerpts, the role of the emperor as focal point between past and present was unique. No other people had the sense of piety toward family and emperor. The relationship between emperor and subjects was unique. Japanese had a unique sense of loyalty. The emperor was like the head of a big family and was divine.

5. From reading the table of contents and the excerpts, how do you think the topics and beliefs presented in the *Kokutai no Hongi* might have been useful to Japanese military leaders preparing for war in 1937?

   Possible responses: They might have been useful by inspiring loyalty to the emperor and willingness to die for him and Japan.

Questions: Lesson 7. The Sailor's Mother

1. Why was the sailor crying?

   Possible responses: He was crying because he felt that he had let his mother down by not fighting or dying in battle. His mother was disappointed in him.

2. What did the admiral mean when he said, "What a woman your mother is!"?

   Possible responses: He greatly admired the sailor's mother for being so patriotic.

3. What was the main point of "The Sailor's Mother"?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Everyone should gladly sacrifice for the nation, sailors and mothers alike. Citizens must offer themselves to the nation and its emperor.

4. In your opinion, why did the Ministry of Education require all schools to use the same textbooks?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. It made it easier to achieve unity of thought.

Activity: Concluding Essay

Write a 300–500-word concluding essay for Section 2. In your essay, talk about the problems that Japan faced between 1925 and 1937. Consider the importance of economic conditions, social discord, militarism, international isolation, and ultranationalism.

Possible responses: During the first years of Shōwa, the Japanese economy sputtered, then fell into depression. People struggled with high unemployment and drastic reductions in family incomes. Rural residents in particular suffered greatly as farm prices plummeted and famine ravaged parts of the country. Many Japanese blamed business leaders and politicians for their plight, claiming they selfishly worked only to amass personal wealth and cared little for the welfare of the nation or the average person. Radical nationalists gave voice to the growing discontent in the country, blaming the nation's condition on the corrupting influence of foreign ideologies and the loss of traditional values. They called on the Japanese people to defend the *kokutai* and to reject Western "individualism," which they believed had played a large part in creating the current political and economic woes.

Ultranationalist groups began gaining support, especially among idealistic young military officers. Soon, assassinations of business and political leaders by ultranationalists, who claimed to be acting on behalf of the emperor and the nation, became almost commonplace. In the first half of the 1930s, radicals, or ultranationalists, even launched plots to overthrow the government.

Many in the army saw expansion on the Asian mainland as a means to solve the economic crisis. In 1931 the Kwantung Army, stationed in Manchuria, acted independently of the government and seized the northeastern Chinese province. The Japanese people rallied behind the victorious Japanese troops, and renewed nationalist sentiment swept across the land. Western condemnation of the Kwantung Army's actions in Manchuria only further inflamed nationalist feelings and created the beginnings of a "war psychology" among the Japanese people. In this time of economic crisis, social disorder, and harsh international criticism, an ever-growing number of Japanese came to view the military as the only force that could bring stability to the nation, revive the economy, and protect the nation's vital interests in Asia. Certainly the military itself—particularly the army—believed this to be true, and it began using its special constitutional status within the government to control the selection of prime ministers and cabinet members. A few cabinet ministers, court officials, and others tried to restrain the Army, but by 1937 the militarists were the dominant force in government. The government soon began planning to expand Japanese control over much of Asia.

8 periods

CHAPTER 2. MODERNIZATION, CRISIS, AND WAR, 1912 TO 1945

Section 3. Japan in World War II, 1937–1945

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will learn that for the Japanese, World War II began in 1937, when fighting broke out between Japan and China.

2. Students will learn that by mid-1942, within six months of its attack on Pearl Harbor, Japan had extended its empire far into Asia and the Pacific. In the ensuing months and years, the Allies slowly pushed back the Japanese forces in countless bloody battles.

3. Students will gain an understanding of the wide variety of experiences, perspectives, and actions among Japanese servicemen and civilians during the war.

KEY CONCEPTS

Fascism: A type of government led by an autocratic regime that suppresses the opposition and maintains a rigid censorship and strict control over economic and political life.

Imperialism: Domination and extension of a nation's authority over another nation; one country's dominance over the economic and political affairs of a weaker country. Traditionally, imperialism has referred to nations like Great Britain, which during the nineteenth century turned weaker places into protectorates, spheres of influence, or colonies. Japan became an imperialist power in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Nationalism: The desire for national advancement or independence; loyalty and devotion to the interests of a nation, a country, or group of people having a common language and culture. Promoting the culture and interests of a nation, with an emphasis on national rather than international goals. A desire for one's country to be free from foreign domination. See also *ultranationalism*.

Nazism: An ideology, promoted by Adolf Hitler, of racism, national glorification and expansion, state control of economic and political life, and suppression of opposition.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

Allies
Axis
embargo
fascism
Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere
Imperial Rescript
Imperial Rule Assistance Association
International Military Tribunal for the Far East
kamikaze
Nazi
Open Door Policy
Potsdam Declaration
Shōwa
Tripartite Pact
Yamato damashii
Yasukuni Shrine

STUDENTS WILL

1. create flow charts showing the progression of events in the early years of the war;

2. interpret Japanese wartime political cartoons;

3. use maps to compare the extent of the Japanese empire in 1942 and 1945;

4. take the role of a civilian or serviceman in a dialogue; and

5. write a letter describing the experiences of Japanese during the war.

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Questions: War Erupts

1. What started the undeclared war between Japan and China?

   Possible responses: The catalyst was the fighting that broke out at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peiping (Beijing) in July 1937. But long before the Marco Polo Bridge incident, feelings had been running high in China and Japan. China was determined to expel foreign imperialists. Japan, on the other hand, believed it had the right to occupy and control North China.

2. How did tension between Japan and the United States mount?

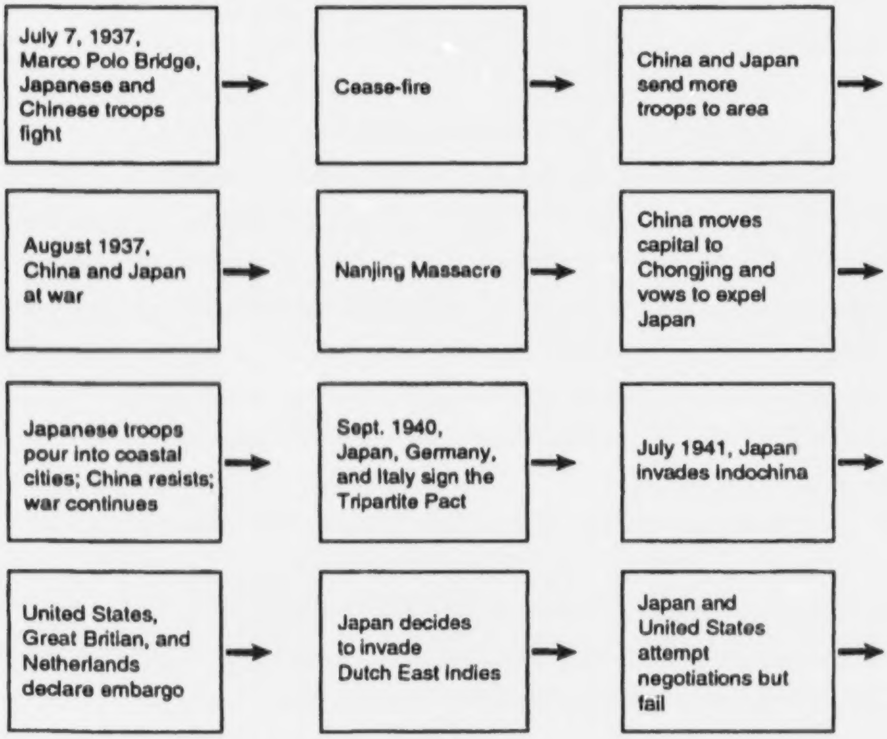
   Possible responses: At first, although the United States believed that Japan had violated the Open Door Policy, U.S. leaders preferred to take no action against Japan. But Germany's attacks on France and England disturbed U.S. leaders, and when Japan signed the Tripartite Pact, American leaders interpreted its action as a threat to the Allied Powers in Europe. When Japan invaded southern Indochina, the United States announced an embargo of exports to Japan. Japan attempted to negotiate with the United States, but tension mounted further when Japan refused to withdraw from China as demanded by U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

3. Why did Japan decide to attack the United States?

   Possible responses: The American, British, and Dutch embargo left Japan desperate. With few natural resources, Japan depended on imports, especially oil. Its solution was to invade the oil-rich Dutch East Indies. To avoid a counter-attack by the United States, Japanese leaders believed that Japan had to attack the United States first.

Activity: Flowchart

To help students get started, work with them on the wording for the first box. Students will probably make a flowchart similar to the one below.


July 7, 1937, Marco Polo Bridge, Japanese and Chinese troops fight
Cease-fire
China and Japan send more troops to area
August 1937, China and Japan at war
Nanjing Massacre
China moves capital to Chongjing and vows to expel Japan
Japanese troops pour into coastal cities; China resists; war continues
Sept. 1940, Japan, Germany, and Italy sign the Tripartite Pact
July 1941, Japan invades Indochina
United States, Great Britian, and Netherlands declare embargo
Japan decides to invade Dutch East Indies
Japan and United States attempt negotiations but fail

Activity: Cartoon Titles

The readings preceding this activity should provide students with enough information for creative captions. A title that the *Japan Times and Advertiser* gave for Cartoon A is "Taking It the Hard Way," implying that the easy way was to let Japan take Asia without resisting, since Japan was more powerful than the United States, Great Britain, and China.

Questions: Some Major Battles, 1942–1945

1. Compare the maps "Farthest Extent of the Japanese Empire, June 1942" and "Japanese Empire on the Eve of Surrender, August 1945." Then write a statement that tells what happened to Japanese territorial control between 1942 and 1945.

   Possible responses: Japan lost its military bases in the Pacific islands, the Philippines, and Okinawa; its retreat was substantial.

2. List six places that Japan captured after its attack on Pearl Harbor. See the essay "Japan Attacks Pearl Harbor and Southeast Asia."

   Possible responses: Within six months of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japan took control of the Philippines, Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia).

3. Why did the Allies battle to take control over particular Pacific islands? To help answer this question, examine the two maps. In addition, reread "War Erupts."

   Possible responses: Japan had control of the Dutch East Indies, which supplied Japan with the oil it needed for the war. By gradually taking control over the Pacific islands, the Allies made it more and more difficult for Japan to ship the oil to Japan. Eventually the Allies were able to cut off Japan's oil supply from the Dutch East Indies.

Activity: Taking Roles

1. For those assigned "Serving the Nation in Battle," answer these questions on your own.

   a. How would you sum up each of the servicemen's stories? Respond to this question by creating a title for each story.

      Possible responses: Students should create titles that are in keeping with the content of the stories.

b. Do you know the locations of places mentioned in the stories? Using an atlas or a map, locate China, Burma, New Guinea, Shandong Province, and Indonesia (Dutch East Indies).

c. Read "The Way of the Warrior" in Chapter 1, Section 1. How was the ideal serviceman in World War II like the ideal samurai?

Possible responses: Both samurai and servicemen were expected to perform their duties without fault, accept the inevitability of death, maintain high self-discipline, serve the emperor, and make their parents proud of them.

d. Recall what happened in 1937 at Nanjing. After reading the servicemen's stories and the essay that introduces them, how would you explain the massacre?

Possible responses: Some scholars explain the massacre in this way: Recruits were routinely beaten and brutalized by officers in an environment that encouraged toughness and cruelty. Having been taught that they were superior to other people, such as the Chinese, and believing that the Chinese should be punished for their refusal to surrender, the soldiers' suppressed rage for having been brutalized by their own superiors erupted as the soldiers attacked innocent civilians in enemy territory.

2. For those assigned "At the Homefront," answer these questions on your own.

a. How would you sum up each of the civilians' stories? Respond to this question by creating a title for each story.

Possible responses: Students should create titles that are in keeping with the content of the stories.

b. How did civilians join in the war effort?

Possible responses: People conducted fire-fighting drills with buckets and ladders, practiced fighting with bamboo spears, dug air-raid trenches, collected pots and pans and other metal items, and informed on others who spoke against government policy. Women and youths replaced men in factories and other jobs.

c. Imagine the impact of the atom bomb on your own community. Using a map of your local area, choose several places as the hypocenter. For each imagined hypocenter, draw a circle (you may want to use a drawing compass) having a radius of 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) and another with a radius of 3.5 kilometers (2 miles). What buildings are within the two circles? What people live and work there? In an atom bomb blast like the ones at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, what would happen to those within the circles? (Note that today's bombs are infinitely more powerful than the two detonated in 1945; people as far as 48 kilometers [30 miles] away would be injured by a blast today.)

Possible responses: Buildings within two miles of the hypocenter would be demolished, and people would either die from burns and ruptured organs or be injured severely and eventually die from burns, flying glass and debris, and radiation. Those outside the two-mile zone would also suffer from burns, flying debris, and cancer caused by exposure to radiation.

Questions: Taking Roles (continued)

1. How would you support the statements that follow? Use the readings in this section to help you in your responses.

   Possible responses: Students should support the statements using examples from the readings.

2. Serviceman D describes how Japanese officers ordered recruits to stab Chinese prisoners for bayonet practice. How responsible do you think the recruits were for the death of the prisoners? Explain your response.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

3. Civilian D tried to keep her younger sister alive by covering her burned hands with dirt. But the younger sister died, apparently of tetanus contracted from contaminated soil. How responsible was the older sister for her younger sister's death? Explain your response.

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Music from the Compact Disc

Dōki No Sakura was written during World War II to inspire courage among kamikaze pilots. Students should recall the readings in this section on the kamikaze. Cherry blossoms symbolized the kamikaze, pointing to the fleeting beauty of life and the inevitability of death.

Question: War Ends

What groups in Japan were opposed to surrender, and what was at issue for them?

Possible responses: Some in the military, along with many civilians, were convinced that Japan could not be defeated. Moreover, they believed that it was shameful to surrender and that if they did surrender, Allied troops would punish them severely. Moderates who were willing to consider surrender wanted assurances that the emperor would not be tried for war crimes and would continue as their sovereign. But the Allies gave no assurances, instead demanding that Japan surrender unconditionally. Even after atom bombs destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and after the emperor decided that the war should end, fanatical military officers attempted a coup d'état, but the rebellion was crushed.

6 periods

CHAPTER 3. RECOVERY AND THE RISE OF AN ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER, 1945 TO THE PRESENT

Section 1. The Occupation and Recovery, 1945–1952

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will learn that the occupation of Japan, which lasted from 1945 to 1952, was dominated by the Americans, especially U.S. General Douglas MacArthur. The three main goals of the occupation for Japan were democratization, demilitarization, and revival of the economy.

2. Students will learn that the 1947 Constitution shifted sovereignty, or ultimate political power, from the emperor to the Japanese people. Under the constitution, the Diet became the most powerful branch of government.

3. Students will understand that the Japanese people struggled to secure basic necessities, like food and shelter, during the early postwar period. They completely lost faith in and even scorned Japan's wartime military and government. During the occupation, most accepted the ideals of democracy and pacifism.

4. Students will understand that as a result of the Cold War and the Korean War, both the American occupation officials and the conservative Japanese government undertook a dramatic change in policy known as the "Reverse Course." Communists and leftist anti-government activists were purged from government, official support for the rights of labor unions vanished, *zaibatsu* reconstituted themselves, and the Americans forced Japan to rearm despite the constitutional ban on maintaining military forces.

KEY CONCEPTS

Cold War: struggle for power between the United States-led alliance and the Soviet Union-led Communist bloc, mainly in Europe and Asia, but also in other regions. The Cold War was a rivalry that included every type of conflict—propaganda, arms buildups, and military alliances—short of direct, full-scale war. The Cold War pitted the ideology of Communism against that of capitalist democracy.

Democratization: the introduction and/or expansion of democracy and its characteristic features, such as protection of the rights of individuals, constitutional government, freedom of expression, equal rights for all persons, political decision-making by majority rule, and political liberty.

Demilitarization: large-scale or complete elimination of military equipment, production, and armed forces, often to minimize the threat of one nation to other nations.

Pacifism: opposition to war and militarism, with the ultimate goal of complete peace in the world.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

armistice
communism
constitutional monarchy
demobilization
International Military Tribunal for the Far East
Korean war
Red Purge
Reverse Course
San Francisco Peace Treaty
Self-Defense Force
sovereignty
State Shintō
Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP)
universal suffrage
United States–Japan Security Treaty
zaibatsu

STUDENTS WILL

1. compare and contrast the rights and power of the people, the government, and the emperor under the Meiji Constitution and the 1947 Constitution;
2. design a "paper play" explaining at least two articles of the proposed 1947 Constitution; and
3. analyze posters that show how the 1947 Constitution was supposed to reform Japanese law and society.

MATERIALS

Handout A, "Comparing Constitutions," chart paper, poster boards, colored pencils or pens or waterproof markers

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Questions: The Occupation of Japan

1. What were the main concerns of the Japanese people during the occupation?

   Possible responses: In the years following the war, the main concerns of the Japanese were finding food, shelter, and other daily necessities.

2. What were the main priorities of the Americans?

   Possible responses: Occupation officials had three main goals for Japan: democratization, demilitarization, and revival of the economy.

Question: Democratization

List examples of how occupation officials tried to promote democracy in Japan.

Possible responses: The 1947 Constitution, written by American occupation officials, was the key to postwar democracy for Japan. The document invested the greatest political power in the hands of the Japanese people. Both the emperor, greatly diminished in power, and the Diet were directly responsible to the Japanese people. The constitution also guaranteed individual liberties, workers' rights, and the equality of males and females. Other steps at democratization included introduction of universal adult suffrage, reduction in the power of the police, release of political prisoners, the encouragement of the revival of political parties, and a ban on formal government support and promotion of State Shintoism.

Activity: Comparing the Meiji and 1947 Constitutions

Reproduce and distribute Handout A, "Comparing Constitutions," which follows, to students.

Fill in the chart:

1. Who holds the highest power in the government? What is the role of the emperor?

   Possible responses: The emperor holds the highest power under the Meiji Constitution. Students may cite articles III, VI, VIII, XI, and XIII as evidence. Under the 1947 Constitution, the people hold sovereign power (Article 1), and the Diet (Article 41) is the highest organ of state power.

2. Who makes the law?

   Possible responses: Under the Meiji Constitution, the law is made in the name of and approved by the emperor (Articles VI, VIII). Students may correctly point out that the *genrō* or inner circle of advisers made laws or issued imperial rescripts in the name of the emperor. Under the 1947 Constitution, the Diet is the only government institution which can make laws (Article 41).

3. Who controls the armed forces and gives final approval on decisions related to foreign affairs?

   Possible responses: Under the Meiji Constitution, the emperor was the supreme commander of the army and navy (Article XI) and was responsible for making decisions on foreign affairs (Article XIII). Under the 1947 Constitution, the cabinet manages foreign affairs with the approval of the Diet (Article 73).

Handout A

Comparing Constitutions

	Meiji Constitution (1889)	1947 Constitution
Who holds the highest power in the government? What is the role of the emperor?		
Who makes the law?		
Who controls the armed forces and gives final approval on decisions related to foreign affairs?		
What are some of the rights that the people possess? Are there any limitations or restrictions on these rights?		

Answer Sheet Handout A

Comparing Constitutions

	Meiji Constitution (1889)	1947 Constitution
Who holds the highest power in the government? What is the role of the emperor?	The emperor. He sanctions and promulgates laws. He maintains public safety and issues Imperial Ordinances. He has supreme command of the Army and Navy. He declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.	The people hold sovereign power. The Diet is the highest organ of state power.
Who makes the law?	The emperor gives sanction to them and orders them to be promulgated and executed. Every law requires the consent of the Imperial Diet.	The Diet.
Who controls the armed forces and gives final approval on decisions related to foreign affairs?	The emperor.	The cabinet with the approval of the Diet, manages foreign affairs and concludes treaties. Under Article 9, Japan does not maintain land, sea, or air forces.
What are some of the rights that the people possess? Are there any limitations or restrictions on these rights?	Japanese subjects cannot be deprived of their right to trial, their homes cannot be entered or searched without consent, except as provided by law. Their right to property is inviolate. Within the limits of the law, they enjoy freedom of speech, writing, publication, public meetings, and association. There are limitations, usually stated as "within the limits of the law . . ."	People have fundamental human rights. All are equal under the law. Adults may vote for public officials. Freedom of religion, speech, and assembly are guaranteed. People have the right to own property. People have the right to due process, to counsel, and to a speedy and public trial.

4. What are some of the rights that the people possess? Are there any limitations or restrictions on these rights?

    Possible responses: Students should notice the subtle but clear limits placed on Japanese subjects' rights under the Meiji Constitution. They should note that all the rights listed in the Meiji Constitution include important conditions or limitations. For example, "unless according to law" (Article XXIII) or "within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects" (Article XXVIII). These conditions enabled the Meiji leaders to strictly and arbitrarily limit subjects' rights. Under the 1947 Constitution, the rights of Japanese citizens have few limitations. Any examples of citizens' rights are acceptable. Students may notice that conditions are placed on Articles 13 and 31.

Activity: A *Kami Shibai* on the New Constitution

In this activity, students are asked to depict the impact of a revolutionary legal document—the 1947 Constitution—upon people's lives. The students must use a Japanese dramatic device—the *kami shibai*—to teach their audience about the constitution written and imposed by the Americans. Urge the student groups to choose different articles of the constitution so that a wide variety of *kami shibai* are performed.*

Evaluation

1. What specific constitutional changes did the *kami shibai* depict?

    Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Audience members should be able to identify which article of the constitution was dramatized. Check to see that students can summarize the right constitutional article and its impact on Japanese society.

2. Did the performance clearly and effectively depict those changes?

    Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. If necessary, discuss how the performances could be revised to depict life under the occupation or the new constitutional rights more clearly and effectively.

3. State what you liked best about each *kami shibai.*

    Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

4. Offer the storyteller constructive suggestions if you think a particular *kami shibai* could be improved.

    Possible responses: Accept constructive suggestions.

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* Other *kami shibai* activities are available from Kami Shibai for Kids, P.O. Box 20069, Park West Station, New York, NY 10025-1510

Debriefing

1. Do you think that *kami shibai* was an effective means of educating people about the new constitution? Why or why not?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

2. What are some other ways you could have used to educate people about the constitution and its impact in 1947?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. Both American occupation officials and the Japanese government produced pamphlets, radio broadcasts, comic books, and other materials to educate the public on the new constitution. The Americans also reformed the school system, eliminating textbook references to ultranationalism and imperialism and replacing them with concepts such as democracy, constitutional government, individual rights, and the equality of men and women.

3. If you were organizing a public education campaign in your community today, what medium of communication would you use? Why?

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Activity: Before and After

Using the posters reproduced in their text, students should be able to explain what the lives of the Japanese people were like before 1947 Constitution, and how their lives will change after it goes into effect.*

Posters 1 and 2 refer to Article 15; which states that the people have the right to choose and dismiss public officials. Public officials are servants of the whole community, rather than people to be venerated. All adults may vote for public officials.

Posters 3 and 4 note the equality of all under the law as stated in Article 14. (Some students may also note the change in voting rights incorporated into the 1947 constitution as well as the change in the status of women.)

Posters 5 and 6 refer to Article 66, which states that officials such as the Prime Minister and others must be civilians.

Posters 7 and 8 refer to Article 24, which pertains to marriage and the equality of women.

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* Information for this activity from John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II,* NY; W.W. Norton & Co., 1989, p. 368

Question: Economic Recovery and Reform

Which occupation economic reform had most success?

Possible responses: The land reform program implemented by SCAP and the Japanese government was the most successful legacy of the period, making it possible for tenant farmers to buy their own plots of land at low prices.

Questions: A Laborer Cries Out for Help

1. Why was the writer so angry with the "incompetent government"?

   Possible responses: The Japanese government failed to provide food and other relief for the people. Many people resented the fact that the government was not providing legal ways for them to earn enough and buy enough food to feed their families. The writer feels that the government's failure to help its people is proof that Japan is a "fourth-rate country."

2. How did the writer feel about buying food on the black-market?

   Possible responses: Although the black-market was illegal, most Japanese (including the writer) decided that it was necessary to buy food and other basic necessities for their families there. Even when he had to borrow money at a high interest rate, the writer bought black-market food to feed his children and his wife. He resented the failure of the government to help the people and criticized the "evil merchants" who profited from selling bootlegged goods. Perhaps the most exasperating aspect of the black-market was that food was indeed available but was being sold at such high prices.

Questions: A Housewife Struggles to Make Ends Meet

1. What are the three ways the housewife and her family can get food? Are some ways more desirable or possible than others?

   Possible Responses: According to the Yamanashi Prefecture housewife's account, she can get food in three ways: (1) through government rations of food, (2) by buying food on the black-market, and (3) by riding the train to Chiba to buy agricultural products.

   The black-market seems to be the most reliable source of food for the housewife and her family. The government rations that are supposed to last for ten days last only for five. Black-market food is very expensive. Finally, the family doesn't have enough money for train fare to Chiba, and it can't spare a productive family member to go.

2. How does the family make ends meet?

   Possible Responses: They have reached the point of selling off their personal belongings. (The husband makes 200 yen a month, but living expenses run about 600 yen.)

Questions: Disillusioned Soldier

1. What was the soldier's highest ambition during the war? Why did he not think of his parents or siblings?

    Possible responses: He wanted to "die for the Emperor." Japanese military history celebrated death in battle as heroic. Sacrificing one's life in the name of one's superior—in this case, the emperor—was glorified as the highest act of selflessness and obedience.

2. Why did he feel ashamed to come home?

    Possible responses: He was ashamed that he was still alive at the time of the surrender. He felt that he should have died in battle.

3. Why did he pledge to never again sing the national anthem, "Kimi ga Yo"?

    Possible responses: In most Japanese minds, "Kimi ga Yo," the national anthem, represented the emperor system.

Music from the Compact Disc

Students may listen to "Kimi ga Yo," Japan's national anthem, which dates from the Meiji period. After the war, its designation as an anthem was suspended. It was reinstated as Japan's official national anthem in 1990.

Questions: Educational Reform Under the Occupation

1. Why was the teacher apprehensive after Japan surrendered?

    Possible responses: Although she was happy that the American air raids had ended, the teacher is worried about "attacks" on the Japanese educational system. She is worried that her defeated country might force teachers to teach their students English instead of Japanese.

2. Why do you suppose the teacher and her students reacted so differently to the occupation's orders to ink out parts of the textbooks?

    Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. The teacher felt "angry and wretched" because she was being forced to reject all the principles of the "emperor system," the ultranationalistic values instilled in the people to encourage faith in the sacred emperor and in the Japanese state. The "innocent children," by contrast, quickly adapted to the new authorities. Since they had lived under the emperor system for just a few years, they quickly adjusted when the victorious Americans ordered them to stop reading and reciting pro-emperor rhetoric.

Question: A Japanese Student Wonders Whom She Should Respect

Why do you suppose the student wrote MacArthur's name instead of the emperor's?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses. The Japanese people had been indoctrinated by the government to revere the emperor. Japan's surrender, announced by the emperor himself, swept away this unifying source of authority. Then as the allied occupation of Japan began, the Japanese public groped for something to replace the discredited emperor system for which they had sacrificed so much. U.S. General Douglas MacArthur filled this void. Since they were accustomed to obeying authority, the Japanese came to see MacArthur—famous for his majestic presence and grandiose, theatric gestures and statements—as the symbol of the United States and as the supreme power in Japan.

Question: Reverse Course and the End of Occupation

What two treaties ended the occupation in Japan?

Possible responses: The San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, both of which were signed in 1951 and which went into effect the following year, ended the occupation of Japan.

6 periods

CHAPTER 3. RECOVERY AND THE RISE OF AN ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER, 1945 to the Present

Section 2. Economic Growth and Social Change

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will understand the roots of the impressive resurgence and growth of Japan's economy in the decades following World War II, from the mid-1950s through the early 1970s.

2. Students will analyze graphs showing changes in Japan's economy.

3. Students will understand the impact of the 1990s recession on Japan's economy, on the lives of Japanese workers, and on Japanese companies after decades of economic growth.

4. Students will understand globalization and grasp how Japan became a part of the global economy as illustrated by its joint ventures in the automobile industry.

5. Students will analyze a graph showing the representation of political parties in the Japanese House of Representatives from 1958 to 2000 and a graph showing the growth of the economy. They will speculate about the connection between the downturn of Japan's economy in the 1990s and the Liberal Democratic Party's loss of power.

6. Students will understand some reasons that education has been valued so highly by many Japanese.

7. Students will comprehend the evolution of women's roles in Japanese society.

8. Students will be aware of trends in such areas as marriage, childbirth, education, and work.

KEY CONCEPTS

Urbanization: Extension of features of cities into other areas; citification of rural areas.

Globalization: The spread of technology, business, and communication network throughout the world.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

- coalition government
- conglomerate
- equity stake
- Group of Seven (G-7)
- gross domestic product (GDP)
- House of Representatives
- joint venture
- *keiretsu*
- Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
- lifetime employment
- love marriage
- *miai*
- Minamata disease
- nuclear family
- opposition party
- per capita
- quality control
- recession
- *sarariman* or salaryman

STUDENTS WILL

1. analyze economic graphs comparing Japan's economic growth with the growth of G-7 countries;
2. create a poster showing the ties among automobile manufacturers at the beginning of the 1990s;
3. analyze graphs showing the representation of political parties in the national Diet and on the growth rate of the Japanese economy;
4. interview classmates about their views of women's roles in families and in society;
5. analyze graphs showing marriage trends, division of labor in the home, and trends in child custody; and
6. compose an essay on economic and social developments in Japan from the 1950s to the turn of the twenty-first century.

MATERIALS

Chart paper, card stock, and colored pencils or water-based markers for the activity "Globalization in the Auto Industry."

POSSIBLE REPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Questions: Learning from the West: Automobiles

The questions that follow refer to the story you just read and to "Dutch Studies" in Chapter 1, Section 1, which discusses the dissection of a human body.

1. In the Dutch Studies story, why did Sugita and his colleagues describe their observations of the dissection as "marvelous" but criticize their own previous work as "disgraceful"? When the Japanese engineers from Nissan were sent to the United States to observe the American auto industry, why did one feel "thrilled" while another was "overwhelmed"?

    Possible responses: In the Dutch Studies story, Sugita and his contemporaries felt that it was "marvelous" to witness a human dissection for the first time. Their first-hand observations clashed with the traditional Chinese view of the human body and confirmed the information in the Dutch anatomy book. At the same time, they concluded that their previous work as physicians was "disgraceful" because of their ignorance of the human body. The oldest one of the Nissan engineers felt "overwhelmed" by the bigger, faster American cars that made their own crude car and truck seem heavy, awkward, and slow. One of the younger engineers, however, was "thrilled" at the opportunity to learn about American automobiles and machinery; he considered the America of that era as "the greatest auto university in the world."

2. Compare the mechanic in the story with the butcher in the dissection story. Why were both men looked down upon, and why was their knowledge at first discounted?

    Possible responses: In the Dutch Studies story, Sugita and his contemporaries discounted the experience of the butcher, who came from the *eta* class, whose members often performed jobs that violated Buddhist strictures against killing animals. Nevertheless, the butcher pointed out the organs as he dissected the body. Similarly, the Nissan engineers at first discounted the expertise of the American mechanic, who had little formal technical training. They soon found, however, that his experience working on cars supplied him with a high level of practical knowledge. He taught them how to improve the brakes on their car so that it could handle American highways.

3. What common themes do you see in the two stories?

    Possible responses: In both stories, the Japanese are learning from the Western world; they are also learning from those they believe to be beneath them.

Activity: Reading Economic Graphs

Questions

1. Study the graph "Gross Domestic Product of the G-7 Countries, 1976–1996."

    a. What have been the three largest economies of the G-7 group since 1976?

        Possible responses: The three largest economies of the G-7 have been the United States, Japan, and Germany.

b. How would you describe the increase in Japan's GDP after 1992?

Possible responses: Japan's economy continued to grow, but at a slower rate than before 1992.

2. Study the graph "Per Capita Gross Domestic Product of the G-7 Countries."

a. When was the last year Japan had the lowest per capita GDP among the G-7 nations?

Possible responses: The last year Japan had the lowest per capita GDP of the G-7 was around 1978.

b. In what year did Japan's per capita GDP become the second-highest among the G-7 countries.

Possible responses: Japan's per capita GDP became the second-highest in the G-7 around 1996.

c. Which of the G-7 countries made the biggest dollar gain in per capita GDP among the G-7 nations?

Possible responses: Japan's per capita GDP made the biggest dollar gain. It increased from a little under $5,000 a year to around $23,000.

Activity: Globalization in the Auto Industry

Students' charts mapping the connections in the auto industry will not be identical. The example on the next page is provided as a sample for the teacher.

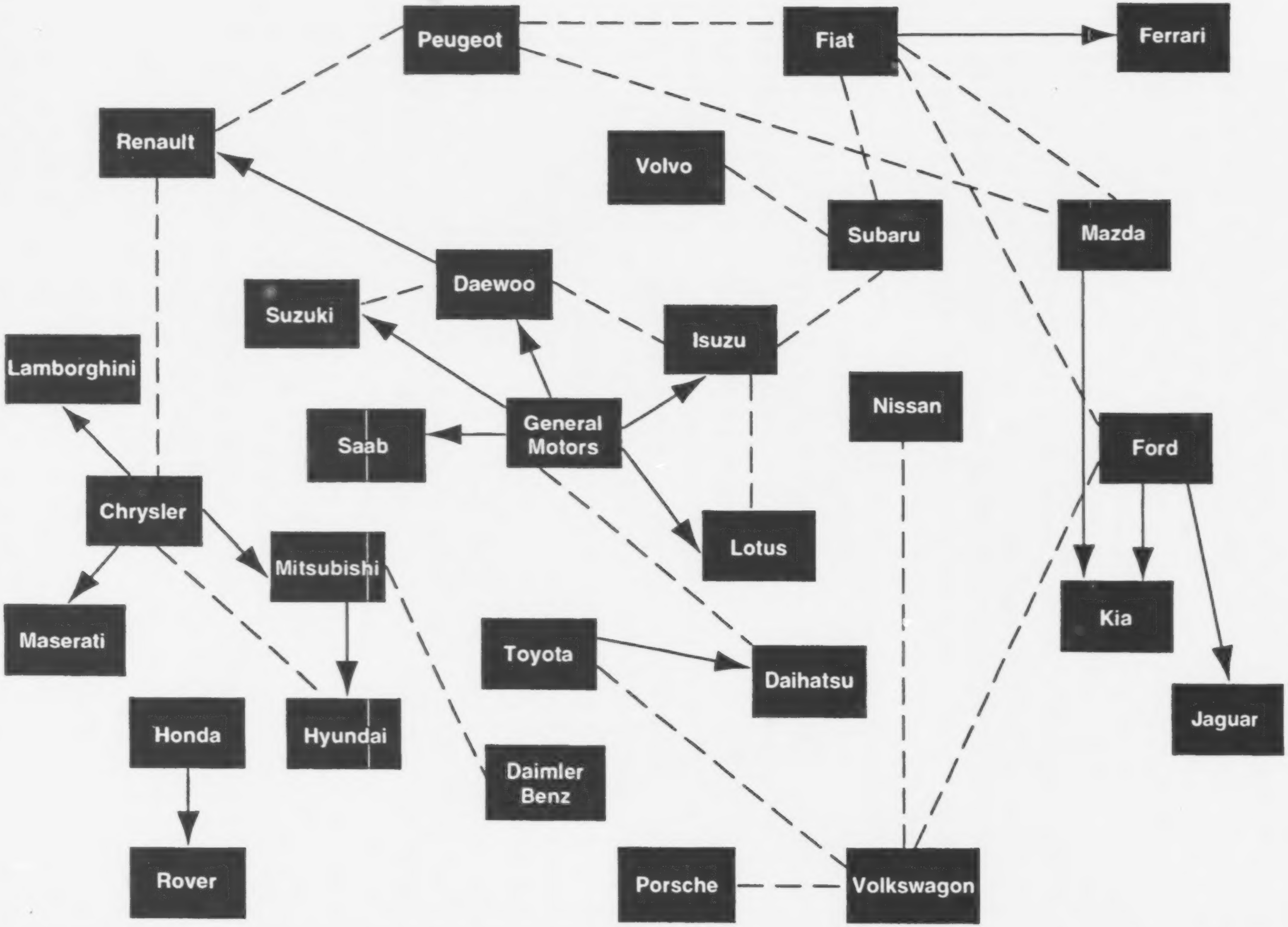
Questions

1. From your map, what conclusions can you draw about the interconnectedness of world automobile manufacturing?

Possible responses: The world's major auto manufacturers are connected with each other in a variety of relationships.

2. Which European company had the most connections? Which American company had the most connections? Which Asian company had the most connections?

Possible responses: Fiat was connected with five other companies. General Motors was tied to six other companies. Subaru, Mazda, Mitsubishi, Isuzu, and Daewoo each had ties with four other companies.


Peugeot
Fiat
Ferrari
Renault
Volvo
Subaru
Mazda
Daewoo
Suzuki
Isuzu
Lamborghini
Nissan
Saab
General Motors
Ford
Chrysler
Lotus
Mitsubishi
Kia
Maserati
Toyota
Daihatsu
Jaguar
Honda
Hyundai
Daimler Benz
Rover
Porsche
Volkswagon

Adapted from *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*, by Rod Hague, Martin Harrop, and Shaun Breslin. Third Edition. London: Macmillan, 1992, p. 118.

3. Which company had the most equity stakes in other companies?

    Possible response: General Motors had ownership shares in Saab, Suzuki, Daewoo, Isuzu, and Lotus.

4. Why would General Motors, one of the world's largest automobile companies, have ties with so many smaller companies?

    Possible responses: General Motors might gain access to more world markets, or it may have wanted to share in the profits of those companies.

5. Why would some companies allow other companies to gain part ownership in their operations?

    Possible responses: They might have seen it as a means of improving their financial situation, or even as a guarantee of their survival.

6. The time period of the map is 1991. Since then several carmakers have joined in huge mergers. Which German company merged with which American company, and which Italian company merged with which Japanese company in the late nineties to form two of the world's largest car companies?

    Possible responses: Daimler-Benz merged with Chrysler, and Fiat merged with Nissan. Other car manufacturers have continued to consolidate. Students will have to consult newspapers and business sources in print or on the Internet to check for the most recent mergers.

7. This activity looked at globalization only in the automobile industry, but the trend to globalization is in fact increasing in all sectors of the world's economy. Write a short paragraph on the effects you think globalization might have on relationships between countries.

    Possible responses: Accept all reasonable responses. In some instances, countries may resent the power of multinational corporations in shaping foreign policy. Conversely, countries may be more friendly to countries where they have political influence because they have so much control over their economies.

Questions: The Impact of Globalization on Japan's Economy

1. What factors negatively affected Japan's economy in the last decade of the twentieth century?

    Possible responses: Globalization made some Japanese companies less competitive in the world economy: the cost of manufacturing rose, and some Japanese companies chose to uphold their pledges of "lifetime employment," even to workers who did little or nothing. Also, while gigantic multinational corporations were able to produce and sell goods faster, more efficiently, and at a higher profit, Japanese companies were slow to join this wave of mergers. Although Japanese products were still of high quality, products from later-developing countries (Korea and Taiwan, for example) began competing with them. The old *keiretsu* ties based on tradition, loyalty, and even family ties had led to rigid practices that often made it difficult to make the swift decisions that globalization required. A severe recession in the 1990s made the situation critical for many Japanese companies, forcing them to respond.

2. What was the most direct evidence of the 1990s recession for the Japanese people?

   Possible responses: The sudden decline of the "lifetime employment" system in Japan's big companies was the most painful evidence of recession for Japanese people. As the 1990s recession grew deeper, large Japanese companies were forced to take the unprecedented step of firing employees.

3. How did Japanese workers react to the 1990s recession? What are some of the ways that people adapted to the new situation?

   Possible responses: Many traditional *sararimen,* or white-collar workers, who were laid off were psychologically devastated because they had been completely stripped of their professional and social identities. They had devoted their entire working lives to their companies, and in return had received social status, a social life, and regular pay based on seniority.

   Others adjusted better to the new conditions of globalization. Although many young Japanese graduates felt disillusioned and angry when they found that the big companies were no longer hiring many new workers and that they could no longer depend on the guarantee of lifetime employment, more and more young job-seekers discovered that the new economic realities had created prestige and financial rewards in different areas. Rather than aiming for positions with the large Japanese companies, young workers began offering their talents to small companies or foreign firms. The younger workers also were more willing to leave one job for another more attractive opportunity.

Questions: "The Super Ice Age"

1. According to the article, what were some of the effects of the economic recession in Japan during the 1990s?

   Possible responses: Economic growth stalled; real estate prices and the values of homes and businesses fell; Japanese banks held many bad debts; the Japanese stock market plunged; the unemployment rate was still low compared to most other industrialized nations but reached a record high in Japan; companies dismantled much of the "lifetime employment" system, firing or reducing the salaries and benefits of many workers who expected to work at the same company until retirement; and young graduates, especially female job-seekers, had a more difficult time finding full-time jobs.

2. According to the article, who were the biggest losers in the 1990s recession?

   Possible responses: According to the article, the biggest losers were those in the *dankai* (mass-lump) generation—Japan's baby-boom generation—born in the years beginning in 1948. To cut costs, many companies sent managers in early middle age to subsidiaries or affiliates of the parent company. These managers suddenly could no longer expect automatic promotion according to age or length of their service at the company. Often they were stripped of an office title. Moreover, the companies stopped awarding them special expense accounts, privileges, and the social prestige that went along with them. Many of these workers, expecting a guaranteed lifetime of employment with one company, were suddenly faced with the need to acquire new skills, change jobs, and move to different parts of the country or even overseas.

3. How did recession affect Japan's young people? How did they respond to it?

   Possible responses: Many young college graduates, especially female job-seekers, were much less likely to find full-time work. In response, more and more are heading overseas or waiting for a chance to leave one job for another one.

4. According to the article, why did some salarymen feel cheated by their companies and society?

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable response. The article notes that Japan's economic miracle was built on the backs of the salarymen. Having given their lives to the company, some salarymen are bitter because they are no longer able to reap the rewards of their years of hard work.

Questions: Economic Growth, Political Stability

1. Which three political parties have the longest history? Of these, which one's representation declined sharply after 1990?

   Possible responses: The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Japan Socialist Party/ Social Democratic Party, and the Communist Party have the longest history. Between 1990 and 2000 the number of SDP representatives fell sharply.

2. Which party has held the most seats in the House of Representatives since 1958?

   Possible responses: The LDP has held the greatest number of seats by far.

3. There are about 500 seats in the House of Representatives (the number is subject to minor change). How many times has the number of Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) representatives fallen below 250?

   Possible responses: Four times: 245 in 1976, 242 in 1979, 223 in 1993, and 235 in 1996.

4. Which party has had the most say in selecting prime ministers and cabinets since 1958? Explain your answer.

   Possible responses: The LDP has had the greatest say in choosing the prime minister and cabinet because it has controlled the majority of the representatives for most of the years since 1958. It has also been the only single party that has controlled a majority of representation.

5. Is there a correlation between the dive in economic growth and LDP representation in the Diet?

   Possible responses: It appears that when the economic growth rate declines, so does LDP representation.

6. How many political parties first gained representation in the House of Representatives during the 1960s? In the 1970s? In the 1980s? In the 1990s? Which decade was the most unstable in party representation in the House of Representatives?

   Possible responses: There were two new parties in the 1960s, two new parties in the 1970s, no new parties in the 1980s, but six new parties in the 1990s. The 1990s have been the most unstable decade politically, perhaps because of a downward turn in the economy.

Questions: "Examination Hell"

1. Why have school entrance exams been so important to students and their families?

   Possible responses: In the postwar era in Japan, if a student successfully passed an entrance exam to a good high school, and later, to a good university, he would have a much greater chance of finding a job with a large, successful business firm. So the entrance exam has been viewed by many Japanese as the most important event in a person's life and the key to securing a good job, prestige, and financial security. While both males and females can take high school and university entrance exams, permanent career-track jobs have usually been open to only males.

2. What subject areas have been the focus of junior high and high school entrance exams? What subjects have been the focus of college entrance exams?

   Possible responses: Junior high and high school entrance exams have tested students' knowledge of science, Japanese language and literature, mathematics, history, and English. College entrance exams have tested all of these subjects and have also included questions on more technical and specialized knowledge, especially foreign languages.

3. How have students prepared for high school and university entrance exams? How long have students studied, and what methods have they used?

   Possible responses: Many students prepared seriously for exams a year or two in advance. In addition to their regular schoolwork, the students studied several hours a day specifically in subject areas covered by exams. They spent most of their summer vacation studying, giving up most leisure activities, including movies, sports activities, music and dance lessons, and other hobbies. Families who could afford it sometimes hired tutors to help the student.

4. What has been a mother's role in helping her child prepare for the exams?

   Possible responses: The child's mother has played a major role in preparing her child for exams—spending enormous amounts of time selecting schools to which the child applies, researching tuition costs, entrance requirements, and the schools' track record in sending their graduates to good universities (and in the case of universities, to good companies), visiting schools, reading advice columns and books, and comparing information with other mothers. During examination season, mothers have catered to students' every need, serving them meals on a tray and reassigning chores to siblings. Fathers have played a much less active role.

Activity: What Do You Think?

The activity as described in the student book is self-explanatory. However, students should keep track of their classmates' responses; in a later activity, "Reading Graphs," they are asked to compare information in graphs with responses to questions in "What Do You Think?"

Activity: Women in Japan at Different Times

1. "The Greater Learning for Women" in Chapter 1, Section 1, lists the virtues of the ideal woman during the Tokugawa period (1600s and 1700s). Read the passages and then list the characteristics of the ideal woman. If you did this activity earlier, review what you did.

   Possible responses: According to the reading, the ideal woman during the Tokugawa period was: obedient, chaste, quiet, reverent, respectful, composed, and filial.

2. "Bog Rhubarb Shoots" in Chapter 2, Section 1, tells the story of a Japanese woman living in the 1930s. Read the selection and then list the views people had of women in the narrative.

   Possible responses: According to the story, people saw married women not as individuals but as part of the families they married into. The duty of a married woman was to serve her husband's family. Women were to endure hardships for the benefit of their children, their husbands, and their husband's families.

3. Read "Close the Door and It's a Woman's World" in this section. According to the article, in what ways was it a woman's world in the 1990s, and in what ways was it not?

 Possible responses: It was a woman's world in the privacy of the home. Wives controlled the family finances; they were becoming increasingly assertive and gaining greater authority. Nevertheless, women still did all or most of the housework. Outside the home, women continued to take a back seat to men. By law, wives were still required to take the family names of their husbands. Few women held top positions in industry and government, and women had greater difficulty in being hired and were first to be fired. Despite the pain, doctors continued to refuse to give anesthesia to women giving birth, and police continued to do little to protect girls molested in subways. (Doctors now usually make epidurals, etc. available to women in labor.)

4. Compare the roles of women as depicted in the three narratives. How are their roles similar and different?

 Possible responses: The roles of women in the three different periods are similar in their subordination to men in public life, in their taking the major responsibility in caring for their families, and in their steady acceptance of the duty of serving their husbands. The roles of women differ in the following ways. In the earlier periods a primary responsibility of wives was to serve their parents-in-law. In the 1996 article from *The New York Times,* there is no mention of the couples' parents-in-law. They do not appear as dominant figures. Moreover, the women in the 1996 article were more assertive and had greater authority in the family.

Activity: Reading Graphs

1. For each of the graphs, write one or more sentences explaining what the graph shows.

 Possible responses: The graph "Trends in Arranged and Love Marriages" shows that since the 1940s the percentage of arranged marriages has decreased while the percentage of love marriages has increased. The graph "Attitudes Toward Remaining Single" shows that overall, more women than men have a positive attitude toward being single. It also shows that younger respondents in their twenties and thirties, more than respondents in their forties and fifties, have a favorable attitude toward being single. The graph "Views on Division of Labor at Home" shows that more women than men wish to divide household chores equally, and that about half of the men who responded did not see housework as part of their responsibility, even if their wives held jobs outside the home. The graph "International Comparison of Divorce Rates" shows that Japan's divorce rate is less than half the U.S. rate, similar to the rates in Germany, France, and Sweden, and much higher than the divorce rate in Italy. The graph "Changes in Custody of Children after Divorce" shows that since the 1950s there has been a dramatic decline in husbands getting custody of children after divorce and a

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similarly dramatic increase in wives getting custody. (In the decades before 1950 Japanese society was more patriarchal, and as a result children of divorce tended to remain with their fathers' families.)

2. Although graphs can convey information well, they may not answer specific questions. What types of information do the graphs not tell you?

   Possible responses: The graph "Trends in Arranged and Love Marriages" does not tell us what is meant by "arranged marriages" and "love marriages." The graphs do not answer the "why" questions. For example, "Attitudes Toward Remaining Single" does not tell us why more women than men have a positive attitude toward remaining single.

3. How does the information in the graphs compare with your classmates' responses to the questions in the activity "What Do You Think?"

   Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Question: Changes and Continuities for Women and Families

How does the modern Japanese arranged marriage, as described in this essay, compare with some of the ways potential marriage partners are introduced in your country?

Possible responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Activity: Interviewing a Career Women

Activity is self-explanatory. The teachers may want students to report their interview results to the class.

Activity: Generalization

Accept reasonable responses. The teachers may want students to share their generalizations and/or essays with the class.

3 periods

CHAPTER 3. RECOVERY AND THE RISE OF AN ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER, 1945 to the Present

Section 3. Japan and the World

DESIRED LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will learn of the impact that international trade has had on Japan's modern history. They will understand how trade became crucial to Japan's economy but also triggered conflict and controversy between Japan and the United States and European nations.

2. Students will understand how Japan struggled for a greater role in the international community in the second half of the twentieth century. They will appreciate the significance and impact of Article 9 of the 1947 Constitution—the "no-war clause."

3. Students will learn about regional tensions in East Asia that concern Japan and Japan's territorial disputes with its Asian neighbors. They will also learn about domestic issues that have implications for Japan's relations with other nations.

4. Students will learn about the status of foreigners and minorities in Japan. They will comprehend the difficulties that foreigners, minorities, and foreign-born workers experience working and living in Japan, especially the discrimination they endure.

KEY CONCEPTS

Cold War: struggle for power between the United States-led alliance and the Soviet Union-led Communist bloc, mainly in Europe and Asia, but also in other regions. A global rivalry that included every type of conflict—propaganda, arms buildups, and military alliances—short of direct, full-scale war. It pitted the ideology of communism against that of capitalist democracy.

Democratization: the introduction and/or expansion of democracy and its characteristic features, such as protection of the rights of individuals, constitutional government, freedom of expression, equal rights for all persons, political decision-making by majority rule, and political liberty.

Pacifism: opposition to war and militarism with the ultimate goal of complete peace in the world.

KEY TERMS (Defined in the Glossary)

Ainu
assimilation
belligerency
Burakumin
demilitarization
free trade
homogeneous
minority
Nikkeijin
Persian Gulf war
rearmament
Self-Defense Force
tariff

STUDENTS WILL

1. read a translated *manga* excerpt on trade friction between the U.S. and Japan to gain understanding of the Japanese perspective;

2. analyze different points of view about whether or not Japan should change Article 9 of its constitution and rearm; and

3. learn about the status of foreigners and minorities in Japan.

POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Questions: Trade Relations

1. Why did the Japanese government restrict the sale of many foreign-made products in Japan?
   Possible Responses: The Japanese government restricted the sale of foreign-made products in Japan to protect Japanese companies from foreign competition. This enabled Japanese companies to grow.

2. Why did the United States pressure Japan to "voluntarily" limit the amount of exports Japanese companies sent to the United States?
   Possible Responses: The United States thought that Japan was selling too many of its products in the United States.

3. Why did Japanese companies build manufacturing plants in the United States and other countries?
   Possible Responses: Japanese companies built manufacturing plants in the United States to avoid the import restrictions on Japanese products in the U.S. They built plants in Southeast Asia and China to take advantage of cheap labor costs in those regions.

Questions: Trade Friction [*Manga*]

1. In the beginning of the excerpt, why are Americans angry at Japan? Why does their anger confuse the reporter?

   Possible Responses: The Americans are angry that Japan uses what they consider "dirty tricks to sell their stuff." Dumping specifically is mentioned. They also blame Japan for Americans losing their jobs. The reporter is confused because despite their anger, it seems that many Americans buy Japanese cars because they're cheap and well-made.

2. How do the leaders at Toyosan Automobile Corporation feel about being pressured to adopt a self-restricting policy on their exports to the U.S.?

   Possible Responses: The leaders at Toyosan say the U.S. is blackmailing the Japanese government. They believe if it looks like they, the Japanese, are restricting exports on their own, then there won't be any legal or political problems with the U.S.

3. On the last page of the excerpt, why does the president of Chrysky Motors no longer fear competition from Japanese automobile companies?

   Possible Responses: The president of Chrysky Motors no longer fears competition from Japan because Japan has had to change its trade policies due to international criticism. Japan had to limit the number of cars exported to the U.S. He also says that the dollar-yen exchange rate is approaching a proper level. These two factors will drive up the cost of Japanese cars in the U.S. and less of them will be sold.

4. As you read before, American leaders, who claimed to support the idea of free trade, criticized Japan for not allowing more American goods to be sold in Japan. Why did Japan's leaders argue that American policies on Japanese imports went against the idea of free trade?

   Possible Responses: Japan's leaders contended that forcing Japanese companies to restrict their exports to the U.S. went against the idea of free trade.

Activity: Points of View

1. Summarize each person's point of view on Article 9 and on whether Japan should send armed personnel overseas. Then create a title for each selection.

   Possible Responses: Students should create titles that capture the main point of each selection in relation to Article 9. In the "Japanese Viewpoint A" reading, the writer is protesting the violation of the Constitution, which bans the dispatch of Japanese armed forces overseas. "Japanese Viewpoint B" reveals fears of Japanese rearmament brought on by memories of the suffering Japan's militarism inflicted upon the Japanese people and others. "Japanese Viewpoint C" argues that Japan must fulfill its responsibility to the international community by contributing to U.N. peacekeeping activities. The "Chinese Viewpoint" does not mention Article 9 but points out that the Japanese Constitution bans sending Japanese armed forces abroad.

2. Do the individuals cited above support or oppose sending Japanese forces overseas? Why?

   Possible Responses: "Japanese Viewpoint A" opposes sending Japanese forces overseas because she argues that it violates the Constitution. "Japanese Viewpoint B" opposes rearmament because she remembers the suffering caused by Japan's military during World War II. "Japanese Viewpoint C" supports sending Japanese forces overseas, claiming that it does not violate the Constitution and, furthermore, is an important step in fulfilling Japan's responsibilities to the international community. The "Chinese Viewpoint" opposes Japan's sending forces overseas, arguing that the Japanese Constitution bans such action.

3. You have read four perspectives on Article 9 and the debate over sending Japanese forces overseas. Reread Article 9. Do you think Article 9 permits Japan to send its forces overseas? Do you think Japan should send its armed personnel overseas? Why or why not?

   Possible Responses: Accept any reasonable responses.

Questions: Japan and Regional Tensions

1. What kind of problems would war between China and Taiwan or war between North Korea and South Korea cause for Japan?

   Possible Responses: Under the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, Japan would be obligated to back American forces in "areas surrounding Japan." This would go against Japan's constitutional ban on sending its forces overseas to fight.

2. Why is a formal apology from Japan for its actions during World War II so important to China and Korea?

   Possible Responses: Both China and Korea feel that Japan must take responsibility for past actions against them to ensure that Japan doesn't return to pre-war nationalism. Both countries still harbor suspicions about Japan's intentions in Asia. An apology might help to lessen some of that suspicion.

3. Is it right for a nation to write its own history so that its citizens feel more patriotic?

   Possible Responses: Accept reasonable responses.

Questions: Domestic Tensions with International Implications

1. How has the U.S. military presence affected Okinawa both positively and negatively?

   Possible Responses: After the war the large influx of American money helped rebuild Okinawa and new American military bases provided jobs for Okinawans. Today the military is the second leading source of income for the Okinawan economy. However, the U.S. military began taking more land for it to use and used strong-arm tactics to get the land it wanted at the price it wanted. Prior to 1972 the U.S. could overturn local elections, put down labor unrest, and veto bills in the local legislature it considered unfavorable to American interests. Today U.S. military training accidents, noise pollution, and crimes committed by American servicemen have upset Okinawans.

3. How are Koreans discriminated against in Japan? Why do you think this might influence relations between Japan and North and South Korea?

   Possible Responses: Koreans cannot become Japanese citizens unless they give up their Korean names. Koreans are sometimes fired from their jobs when their employers discover they are Korean. Koreans suffer educational discrimination. Until 1992 Koreans were required to be fingerprinted by the Japanese government. Today Koreans in Japan are still required to carry alien registration cards even though their families may have been in Japan for generations.

   Accept reasonable responses to the second part of the question.

Questions: "Outsiders" in Japan

1. Who are the *burakumin* and why has it been so difficult for them to shed their outcast status?

   Possible responses: *Burakumin* are members of Japan's former outcast group, a social minority that has inherited its low status from ancestors who were believed to be outlaws or who worked in professions considered unclean.

2. Consult a dictionary. What is the definition of a "minority" group in your country? Who would you consider a minority group in your country?

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. The definition used in this text, from *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, is "a group differing from the predominant section of a larger group in one or more characteristics (as ethnic background, language, culture, or religion) and as a result often subjected to differential treatment and especially discrimination."

3. By your chosen definition, are the groups discussed above minorities?

   Possible responses: By *Webster's* definition, Okinawans, *burakumin*, Ainu, and Koreans all could be considered minorities.

4. Are there indigenous peoples in your country? How might you compare their history and current situation with the Ainu?

   Possible responses: Accept any reasonable responses. In the United States, students might compare the history of Native American peoples with the history of the Ainu.

5. What kinds of discrimination have Koreans faced in Japan? Are you aware of minorities who have faced similar difficulties in your country? Explain.

   Possible responses: Korean residents in Japan have been treated as outsiders, even if they have lived in Japan for generations. During World War II, one million Koreans were forcibly brought to Japan to perform heavy labor, over 200,000 were drafted into the Imperial Japanese army or forced to work at military sites, and tens of thousands of women were forced to become "comfort women." The Japanese government did not provide medical care or compensation for them after the war ended. The Japanese government still officially classifies Korean residents as "permanent foreign residents" and requires them to carry "alien registration cards" and to report each change of residence and employment. They also face discrimination in education and employment.

   Accept reasonable responses to the second part of the question.

6. How are the *Nikkeijin* similar to other foreign workers? How are they different?

   Possible responses: The *Nikkeijin* enjoy a somewhat higher status than the rest of the immigrant labor class in Japan. They were the only group of recent immigrants granted a special form of legal resident status by the Japanese government. Recent *Nikkeijin* immigrants have been from middle-class, highly educated backgrounds. The *Nikkeijin* were more likely to secure the higher-paying manufacturing and service industry jobs while illegal immigrants worked in low-paying jobs.

   Many *Nikkeijin*, like other unskilled immigrant workers, lost their jobs or had their wages slashed by the small- and medium-sized subcontractors devastated by the economic downturn in the 1990s. Like their fellow migrant workers, many *Nikkeijin* also struggled with discrimination, exploitation, and culture shock due to their unfamiliarity with Japanese language, customs, and labor laws.

Music from the Compact Disc

There are four songs on the compact disc that can be used in this section. "Akata Sundunchi" is an Okinawan song sung during the *bon* festival in the castle town of Shuri. "Ichanari-Bushi" and "Tanchamē Bushi" are both Okinawan folk songs that date from the Meiji period. "Sarorun Rimuse," the Crane Dance Song, is an Ainu song that imitates the sounds of cranes; the song is sung by dancers imitating the cranes' movements.

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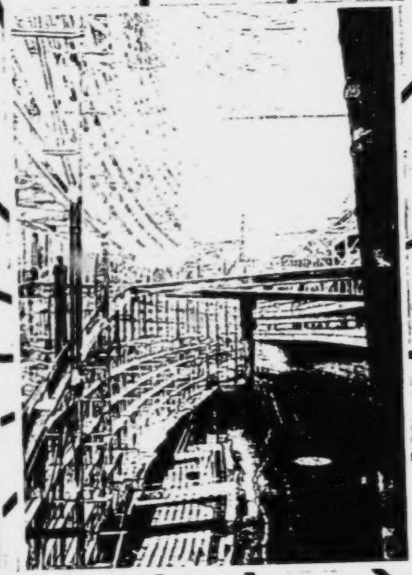
The Rise of Modern
JAPAN

Linda K. Menton
Noren W. Lush
Eileen H. Tamura
Chance I. Gusukuma



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"New Year's Flags" and "Tōkyō International Forum Building," ©Kenneth Hamm/Photo Japan.

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To the Reader

This book highlights key aspects of Japan's history and culture from the Tokugawa era to the present. It includes role-plays, primary documents, first-person accounts, diary entries, excerpts from literary works, songs and poems, as well as maps and timelines, charts and graphs, and political cartoons. A glossary lists important words used throughout the text.

A **compact disc** entitled *The Rise of Modern Japan: Musical Selections* is also available. It contains Japanese songs of different periods and locales. Liner notes include English translations of lyrics and other information about each selection.

Japanese Names and Pronunciation of Japanese Words

This book uses the Japanese method for Japanese names. In Japan, surnames commonly come first in both speaking and writing. For example, in the name Saigō Takamori, Saigō is the surname or family name, and Takamori is the given or first name. We use this style except for persons who render their names Western-style.

Use of macrons: A macron or long mark is used over the vowels o and u to show that the vowels should be lengthened in pronunciation. We have retained the macrons in place names, such as Tōkyō, Kyōtō, and Ōsaka, in Japanese words such as *daimyō* and shogūn, and in personal names, such as Saigō Takamori.

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1

Chapter

Building the Early Modern State, 1600 to 1912

The first section in this chapter focuses on the efforts of Ieyasu Tokugawa and his successors to unify Japan. It gives us a glimpse of a very important time in Japanese history, the years from 1600 to 1868 called the Edo Period. This was a time of peace and prosperity when the arts we often associate with Japan, such as haiku poetry and woodblock prints, flourished. Tokugawa control began to break down, however, in the late 1600s and by the late 1700s it was falling apart. The unequal treaties imposed on Japan by the West in the 1850s set the stage for the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate.

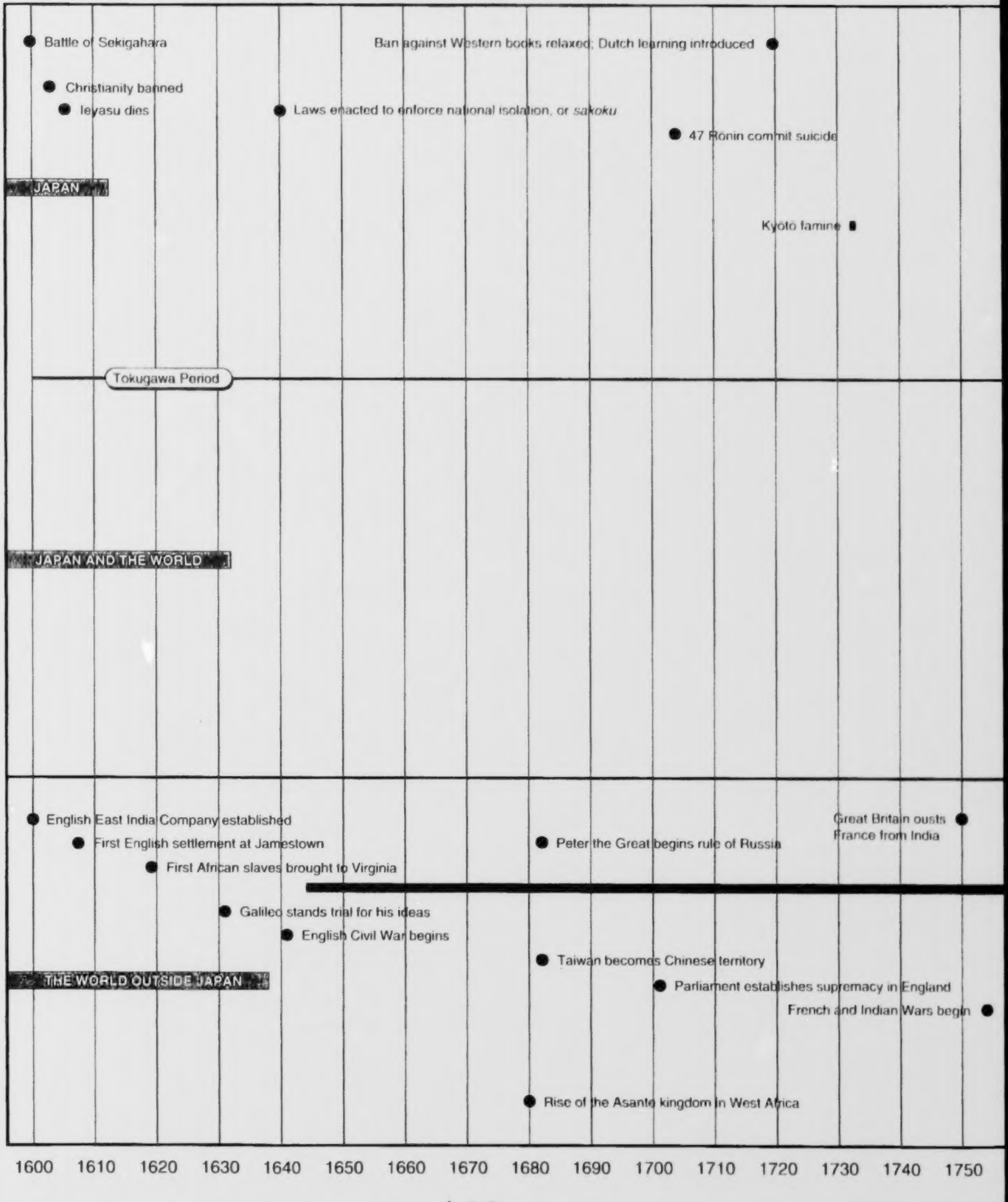
Section 2 focuses on the Meiji Era (1868–1912) and particularly on the Meiji Restoration, the restoring of the emperor to his rightful place as Japan's ruler. It was a period of sweeping political, economic, and social change geared at modernizing Japan and giving its people a sense of themselves as citizens of a nation.

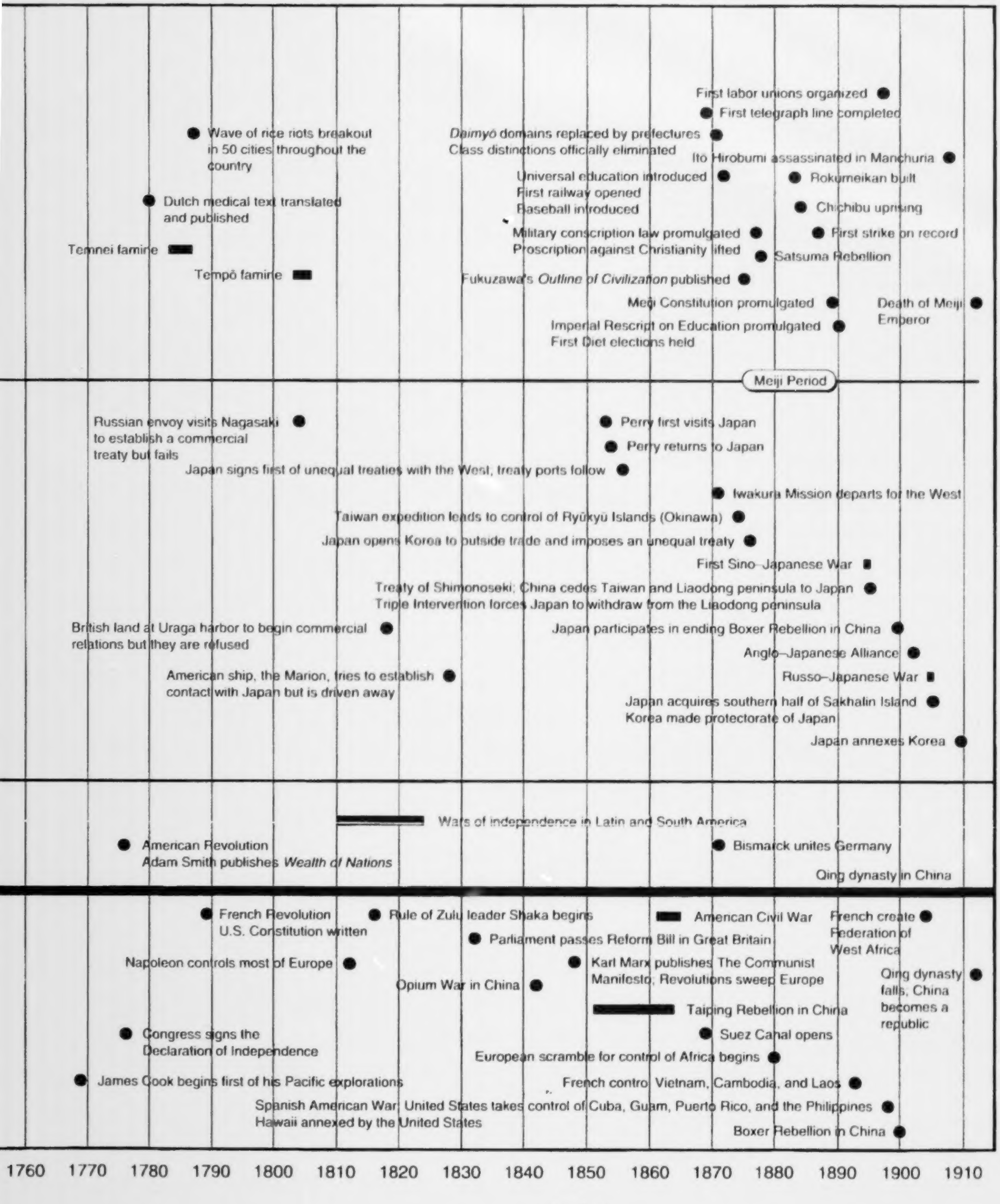
The last section looks especially at the costs of the Meiji Restoration. It includes accounts of the lives of ordinary people—farmers, miners, and textile workers—and the price they paid to make Japan a modern nation.

Sections

1. The Edo Period of the Tokugawa Shogunate
2. The Meiji Restoration and the Building of Modern Japan
3. Conservative Reaction and the Costs of Building a Modern State

Building the Early Modern State, 1600 to 1912




First labor unions organized
First telegraph line completed
Wave of rice riots breakout in 50 cities throughout the country
Daimyō domains replaced by prefectures
Class distinctions officially eliminated
Itō Hirobumi assassinated in Manchuria
Universal education introduced
First railway opened
Baseball introduced
Rokumeikan built
Dutch medical text translated and published
Chichibu uprising
Military conscription law promulgated
Proscription against Christianity lifted
First strike on record
Temmei famine
Satsuma Rebellion
Tempō famine
Fukuzawa's *Outline of Civilization* published
Meiji Constitution promulgated
Death of Meiji Emperor
Imperial Rescript on Education promulgated
First Diet elections held
Meiji Period
Russian envoy visits Nagasaki to establish a commercial treaty but fails
Perry first visits Japan
Perry returns to Japan
Japan signs first of unequal treaties with the West, treaty ports follow
Iwakura Mission departs for the West
Taiwan expedition leads to control of Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa)
Japan opens Korea to outside trade and imposes an unequal treaty
First Sino–Japanese War
Treaty of Shimonoseki; China cedes Taiwan and Liaodong peninsula to Japan
Triple Intervention forces Japan to withdraw from the Liaodong peninsula
British land at Uraga harbor to begin commercial relations but they are refused
Japan participates in ending Boxer Rebellion in China
Anglo–Japanese Alliance
American ship, the Marion, tries to establish contact with Japan but is driven away
Russo–Japanese War
Japan acquires southern half of Sakhalin Island
Korea made protectorate of Japan
Japan annexes Korea
Wars of independence in Latin and South America
American Revolution
Adam Smith publishes *Wealth of Nations*
Bismarck unites Germany
Qing dynasty in China
French Revolution
U.S. Constitution written
Rule of Zulu leader Shaka begins
American Civil War
French create Federation of West Africa
Parliament passes Reform Bill in Great Britain
Napoleon controls most of Europe
Karl Marx publishes The Communist Manifesto; Revolutions sweep Europe
Opium War in China
Qing dynasty falls; China becomes a republic
Taiping Rebellion in China
Congress signs the Declaration of Independence
Suez Canal opens
European scramble for control of Africa begins
James Cook begins first of his Pacific explorations
French control Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos
Spanish American War; United States takes control of Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines
Hawaii annexed by the United States
Boxer Rebellion in China
1760
1770
1780
1790
1800
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1840
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1900
1910

Section 1 The Edo Period of the Tokugawa Shogunate

This first section offers a historical back drop for the rest of the book. After a short introduction on early Japan, it discusses the rise of three leaders who battled to unify Japan under their command. Their efforts culminated in the victory of Tokugawa Ieyasu, who began an era of peace that lasted over 250 years. This lengthy Edo period, as it is called, was a time of prosperity and cultural flourishing. Before we delve into this period, however, you will explore your images of early Japan.

Topography of Japan

Rugged mountains cover the islands of Japan; only one fourth of the land can be used for agriculture or human settlement.

Activity: Images of Early Japan

Think about what you already know about the geography of Japan and about the images you hold of its early history. On paper, respond to the questions below. You are not expected to have full information. (This is not a test.) After you respond to the questions, keep your paper. You will return to it later.

1. What words come to mind when you think of Japan of long ago?
2. Without help from other sources, sketch a map showing Japan, the countries near it, and the surrounding bodies of water. Label as many countries as you can.

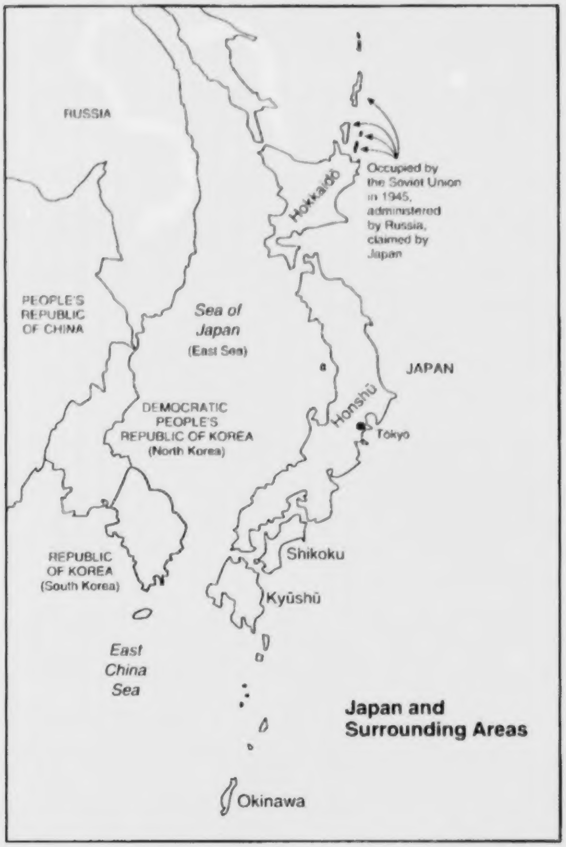
Early Japan

The island nation of Japan sits off the eastern coast of continental Asia. A crescent-shaped chain of islands, it stretches 995 miles (1,602 kilometers) from north to south, roughly the distance of the east coast of the United States from Maine to Georgia. In area, Japan is a medium-sized country, only slightly larger than Germany, but its population of 125 million makes it the seventh largest in the world. Because rugged mountains cover the islands, only about one fourth of the land is flat enough for agriculture or human settlement. Hence it is a crowded country, but its rich volcanic soil and abundant and predictable rainfall has made the land productive in agriculture.

Japan's location off the coast of Asia has profoundly affected its history and culture. At its closest point, southern Japan lies within 115 miles (185 kilometers) of the Korean peninsula before it curves north away from the continent. This distance has meant that the continental cultures of China and Korea were close enough to influence Japan, yet far enough that Japan could decide what to adopt and what to reject.

The civilization of China stretches back thousands of years. When many other Asians were still living in nomadic tribal bands or simple farm communities, the Chinese had created a complex civilization with a rich philosophical, artistic, political, and technological tradition. This civilization so impressed some Asian peoples that they borrowed Chinese elements in shaping their own cultures. Some of Japan's early leaders did so as well.

The ancestors of the people we know as the Japanese were once clans of hunters and gatherers—especially of shellfish—who roamed the archipelago. They were led by chieftains both male


RUSSIA
Occupied by the Soviet Union in 1945, administered by Russia, claimed by Japan
Hokkaidō
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
Sea of Japan (East Sea)
JAPAN
Honshū
Tokyo
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA (North Korea)
REPUBLIC OF KOREA (South Korea)
Shikoku
Kyūshū
East China Sea
Okinawa

Japan and Surrounding Areas

and female. By about the third century B.C.E., wet-rice agriculture, which originated in China or Southeast Asia, arrived in the archipelago, probably via immigrants from the Korean peninsula. Although this kind of agriculture was labor-intensive, requiring farmers to plant rice shoots by hand in muddy paddies, it provided the people with a stable food supply and fostered a more settled lifestyle for many peasants and farmers.

The early Japanese state took shape from the fourth to the sixth centuries. During this time, one clan, known as the Yamato, managed to establish loose control over many of the others. At about the same time, immigrants from China and Korea were arriving in the Japanese archipelago, bringing features of the imperial Chinese culture from the Asian continent. To maintain their precarious hold on power, the Yamato not only relied on the Asian immigrants but also sent trade missions directly to China. The immigrants and the Japanese delegations brought many political, economic, cultural, and technological tools and ideas that the Yamato hoped to use to consolidate their power. The carriers of continental culture brought paper, brushes, and a system for writing. They brought painting and sculpture. They brought the Buddhist religion, which at the time reflected much of the splendor of Chinese civilization. They also brought ideas about law, land control, and taxation. In 710, Yamato leaders built Japan's first permanent capital in southwest Japan, modeling it after Ch'ang-an, the grand Chinese capital.

The Yamato clan used Chinese cultural practices to strengthen its control over the other clans. They set up a state on the Chinese model and adopted the custom of calling the head of the tribe by the Chinese term "Heavenly Emperor." But alongside the strong Chinese influence, native traditions and patterns persisted. The first Heavenly Emperor was, in fact, an empress, and until 770, leaders were both male and female. And although Buddhism dominated the intellectual and cultural lives of Japan's rulers and elites, the lower classes continued to practice the simple rituals of the native Shintō religion, based on the belief that all forms of nature were potentially inhabited by spirits.

To legitimize their new imperial government, the Yamato created a powerful tool: They set down in writing Japan's rich mythology and history. In two books—*The Record of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*, 712 A.D.) and the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihongi*, 720 A.D.)—they collected the ancient myths and legends of the islands and reworked them in ways that supported their own rule. The *Kojiki* contains a mythical account of Japan from its creation to the beginning of the sixth century; this account is unreliable as a historical source. Although the *Nihongi* is a collection of Japanese myths, it also includes a record of the sixth and seventh centuries that most historians accept as fairly reliable.

These books linked Japan's ruling family to the gods and goddesses of ancient Japan. According to these works, in ancient times the grandson of the great Sun Goddess descended to the earth to rule the land. He set up a dynasty—a

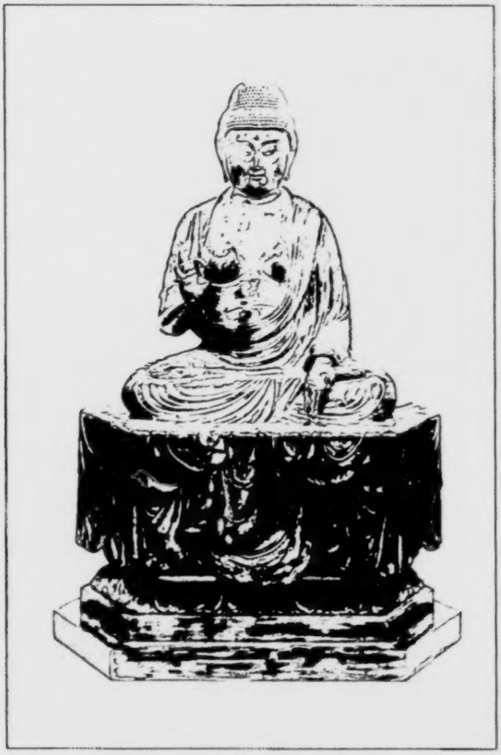
Buddhism in Japan

Buddhism has its roots in India. Over 2500 years ago, a prince named Siddhartha Gautama gave up his privileged position to go into the world to fast, meditate, and ponder the misery and suffering he saw around him. One day, after years of meditation and study, he found the answer as he meditated under a bodhi tree. He became known as the Buddha, the Enlightened One.

According to the Buddha, suffering is caused by desire—the clinging to life and to material things. Central to Buddhism is the idea of karma, the belief that people exist in a cycle of reincarnation and are reborn into a new status each time they die. Their new status depends on how they lived their previous lives. To break this chain of reincarnation, people must give up their selfish desires and practice good deeds and self-restraint. By doing so, they will reach nirvana—a state of blessedness beyond human comprehension.

Buddhism entered China sometime during the first century. Chinese forms of Buddhism evolved and spread within China, then extended beyond its borders—to Korea in the fourth century and to Japan in the sixth. Today people there and in other places in Asia—in Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Tibet, Hong Kong, and Taiwan—have adapted Buddhism to make it compatible with their ways of life.

Over time Buddhism developed a variety of philosophical systems and schools of thought. Two main branches emerged: Theravada (also called Hinayana) and Mahayana Buddhism. While Theravada Buddhism taught that only a few monks could attain enlightenment, Mahayana Buddhism taught that all beings had the potential to do so. It was Mahayana Buddhism that entered Japan. Since then it has diverged into sub-branches, among them Pure Land Buddhism, Shingon Buddhism, Nichiren Buddhism, and Zen Buddhism.



A gilt bronze image of the Buddha dating from 13th century Japan. Courtesy of MOA Museum of Art, Shizuoka, Japan.

While Buddhism spread widely in Japan, it did not replace Shintō, the traditional religion of Japan. (See Chapter 1, Section 2 for a discussion of Shintō.) Instead, the two religions have existed alongside each other, and people have considered themselves both Shintoists and Buddhists.

succession of rulers from the same family—and his descendants became Japan's imperial family. In this way the imperial family claimed descent from the Sun Goddess. By connecting themselves with the gods and goddesses of ancient Japan and by imitating the Chinese practice of writing history, the Yamato family made their rule seem divine and as old as time.

In 794 a new capital was built. It was named Heian but widely referred to as Kyōtō[1], which means "capital." Kyōtō was constructed along Chinese lines, but although trade ships continued to bring treasures from China, much of the conscious imitation of the continent was eventually abandoned.

Court nobles dominated political and cultural life for the next four centuries. The emperors, by now all male, were increasingly controlled by these courtiers, who wielded power through their formal or informal ties to the emperor. Chinese-style government offices fell into disuse while the emperor and court nobles busied themselves with pleasure pursuits, artistic attainment, and promotion of Buddhism. They spent their time in the palace and other residences holding ceremonies, writing poems, and taking part in other aesthetic activities. The most highly prized virtues were a refined appreciation for the arts and careful attention to proper forms of behavior. The tenth and eleventh centuries produced the classics of Japan's golden age of literature. Most of these classics, including Lady Murasaki Shikibu's unparalleled *Tale of Genji*, were written by women.

Meanwhile, peasant farmers throughout the country toiled to maintain the nobles and the imperial family.

Although at times the Japanese worked hard at imitating China, certain segments of society resolutely protected and preserved their own native traditions. For nearly four centuries the Japanese imported and borrowed from Chinese culture, and their society grew in sophistication and complexity. Native Japanese cultural expression—poetry, prose, painting, calligraphy, clothing, games, and religious practices—at first grew alongside Chinese imports and later eclipsed them. From about the middle of the ninth century, Japan ceased sending missions to China. Trade between the two countries slowed, and Japan entered a state of semi-isolation.

During this period of reduced contact, the culture did not stagnate. From the ninth to the early tenth century, the culture of Japan's ruling aristocracy was a unique Japanese blend, and Chinese borrowings fell in prestige. This period, known as the Heian period, was a golden age of Japanese culture in which Japan fashioned its own style of government—with a figurehead emperor—and its own forms of art, music, religion, and literature.

This opening and closing to foreign influence set a pattern in Japanese history. Again and again, Japan would borrow from abroad, then transform what it had borrowed into something uniquely Japanese.

The nobles had little desire to leave the delights of the capital to govern outlying areas. In their absence, local strongmen began to grab power in distant parts of the country. By the eleventh century they had recruited bands of warriors in local areas. These bands and their leaders were eager to link themselves with the cultured aristocrats in the capital, on whose behalf they sometimes acted. It was these warrior bands who evolved into samurai. These men had their own military culture, marked by courage, ferocity, and a total lack of sentimentality—a culture almost the exact opposite of the delicate culture of the nobles. The warriors' brute force finally enabled them to dominate the nobles in the capital. For a long time the nobles survived by playing one warrior band against another, but after a war between the two major bands, the chieftain of the victorious band gained enough power to take contro[illegible] the court.

Then in 1185 another warrior leader, Minamoto no Yoritomo, fought his way to the top. The prestige of the emperor and court was still supreme, so Yoritomo claimed that he was governing in the emperor's name. Eventually he had himself given the grand title of *seii-taishōgun* ("barbarian-defeating general"). Yoritomo established a military government in the fishing village of Kamakura, far to the northeast of the capital city of Kyōtō. The Kamakura shogunate, or military government, lasted until 1333. By controlling its warrior bands, this military

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[1] Kyōtō was the capital city until 1868, the end of the Edo period.

Samurai in armor, photo by Le Bas, 1864. Courtesy of Pennwick Publishing, Inc., New York.

government controlled the eastern region of Japan and some other parts of the country.

During the Kamakura period, Buddhism spread among Japanese commoners. Dynamic new Buddhist sects, which emphasized direct expressions of faith rather than complex ritual, appealed to them and seemed to open the path to salvation to all. By the middle of the thirteenth century, Buddhism had become an essential part of daily life for most Japanese.

After the Kamakura shogunate collapsed in 1333, a second, weaker military government—the Ashikaga shogunate—was established in Kyōtō. The Ashikaga shoguns never subdued regional warrior leaders, and ambitious lords kept fighting among themselves. The shogunate's political agreements collapsed with a civil war, called the Ōnin War, which lasted from 1467 to 1477. Nevertheless, this decade was a time of agricultural expansion, of flourishing trade with China, and of Zen culture, including Nō drama, landscape gardening, tea ceremony, and other Chinese-influenced arts.

From 1477 to 1500, known as the Warring States period, large armies fought across the country, wreaking havoc everywhere. Against this violence, the Ashikaga shoguns were powerless. Emperors were confined to ceremonial roles and crippled by a lack of funds. Court nobles saw their financial fortunes suffer. In this age of bloody strife, power shifted into the hands of a new breed of local military leaders.

By the middle of the 1500s separate domains had emerged, each with its own warrior ruler. These rulers came to be called *daimyō* ("great name"), feudal lords who each ruled with an iron fist over a domain, or territory. The *daimyō* were fiercely independent, commanding their own personal armies and building fortified castle towns where their samurai vassals lived and prepared for battle. During this period, some *daimyō* enforced policies to levy taxes, improve agriculture, and encourage trade among domains.

During this time the fighting escalated, but its focus had shifted. Territories had grown large enough for a few *daimyō* to set their sights on the greatest prize of all: unifying the entire country under one rule. The large domains, of course, wielded the most power; small ones survived by allying themselves with larger domains for protection. But there was still room for a gifted minor lord to fight his way to the top. In fact, not one of the three men who finally reunified Japan was a great *daimyō*. Two were minor *daimyō*, the other a simple peasant.

Questions

1. Return to your responses to the activity, "Images of Early Japan." Which of your responses agreed with what you read in "Early Japan"? Now that you have read the essay on early Japan, write your responses to the questions you could not answer earlier.
2. How did Japan's proximity to the Asian continent influence Japan?
3. How was the writing of history used to promote the early imperial family?
4. Who were the samurai and the *shōgun?*

The Road to Reunification

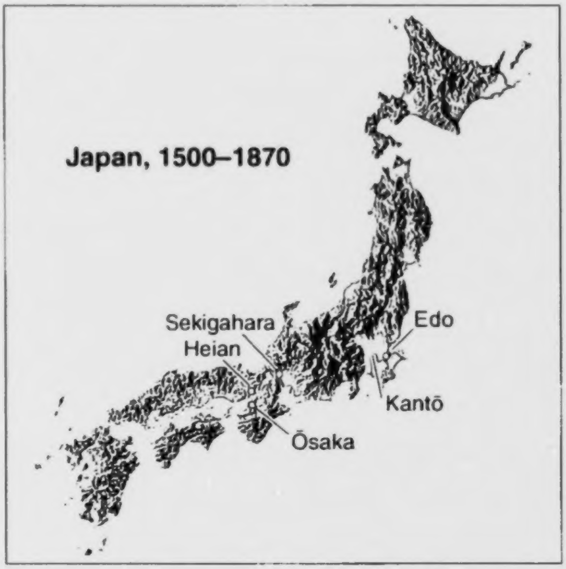
The first of the great unifiers was Oda Nobunaga, who had inherited a small domain from his father. With boldness, brilliance, and brutality, he fought off a rival *daimyō*, seizing control of a vast land area. Aided by two great generals, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, Nobunaga moved quickly to expand his power.[2]

When Portuguese traders and Jesuit missionaries arrived in Japan in the 1540s, Nobunaga saw the huge advantage Western guns and cannons would give him. He secured as many of these as he could, then quickly devised new and effective military strategies for using them. One by one he either destroyed his enemies or forced them to swear their loyalty to him. Nobunaga eventually took control of the capital city of Kyōtō. By 1580 Nobunaga directly or indirectly controlled a third or more of Japan's provinces and was positioned to take over the rest. But it was not to be; in 1582 he was assassinated.

With Nobunaga dead, the opportunity to unite Japan fell to his two generals. It was Hideyoshi who seized the initiative. Hideyoshi came from a peasant family. Although he would later forbid peasants from becoming warriors, in this time of turmoil a man of humble origin could still make a name for himself by joining a warrior band. At a young age Hideyoshi had left his village and joined Nobunaga's army as a lowly foot soldier. Through loyalty, skill, and military genius, he rose quickly through the ranks to become one of Nobunaga's most trusted and brilliant generals. In battle after battle he led Nobunaga's forces to victory, earning a solid land base, a large army, and a loyal following among Nobunaga's warriors.

When Nobunaga died, Hideyoshi saw a chance to take over as Japan's leader. He hunted down and executed Nobunaga's assassin. Then he quickly pushed aside Nobunaga's sons and grandsons, who might otherwise have claimed to be successors. Even in such turbulent times, Hideyoshi's astonishing rise from peasant ranks to the position of pre-eminent power solidified his legacy as perhaps the greatest military commander in Japan's history.

Hideyoshi's only opposition came from Nobunaga's other great general, Ieyasu. For three years the two generals faced each other in a military standoff. Finally in 1586 Ieyasu agreed to a compromise. He accepted Hideyoshi as his master and moved away to a tiny village to the east called Edo (present-day Tōkyō). In exchange Ieyasu received a huge grant of land there.



Heian (Kyōtō), Edo (Tōkyō), Kantō plain, Ōsaka, Sekigahara.

Now the way was clear for Hideyoshi to unify Japan. One of his first moves was to provide comfortable quarters for the emperor and court nobles of Kyōtō, who had been living in poverty but retained enough prestige to be useful to Hideyoshi. Instead of assuming the title of *shōgun*, Hideyoshi took the title of regent, allowing him to rule in the emperor's name. He then set about crushing all remaining opposition. By 1590 he had forced the lords of every province in Japan to acknowledge his rule. In this way a common foot soldier became the ruler of all Japan.

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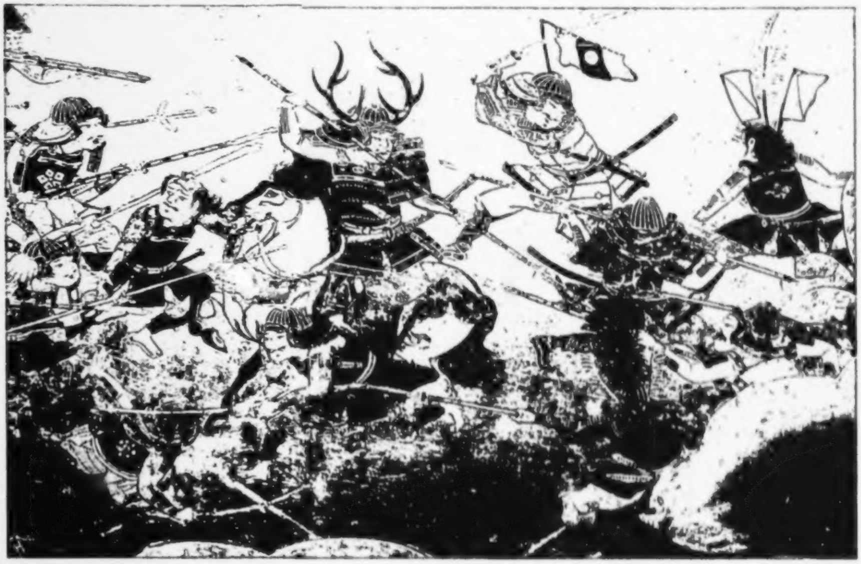
[2] Historians refer to Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) by their personal names—Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu—instead of the usual practice of identifying them by their family names.

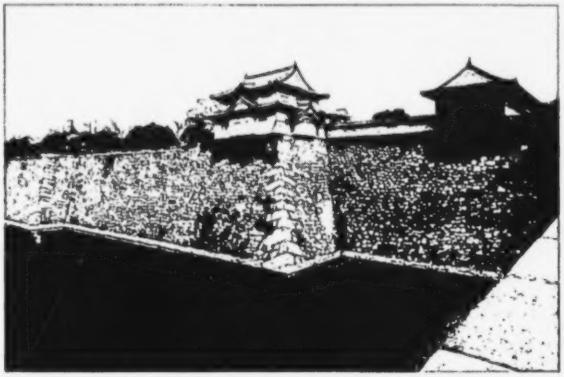


The battle of Ōsaka castle in 1615, following the death of Hideyoshi. Ieyasu's warriors defeated Hideyoshi's last adherents. Courtesy of Werner Forman/Art Resource NY, Kuroda Collection, Japan.

As regent, Hideyoshi instituted several reforms. To secure himself as ruler, he ordered a detailed survey of all agricultural land, which told him just how much rice and other crops each domain could produce. With this information, he assigned tax quotas to all the *daimyō*. He also used it to keep *daimyō* in line. He could move an untrusted *daimyō* to a new domain that was just as productive as the old one but where the *daimyō* could not threaten him. He could also put the *daimyō* he trusted on the best strategic lands. In this way Hideyoshi maintained his supremacy and fortified his military control.

To stabilize society, Hideyoshi forced a complete separation between peasants and samurai. During the Warring States period, peasants often left the land to become soldiers, unsettling the society by leaving much productive land untilled. Hideyoshi decreed that peasants must stay in their villages to till their land, and he forbade samurai from taking up farming. He then forbade peasants from owning weapons of any kind. Thus through military prowess and keen administrative skill, Hideyoshi became the first ruler to establish firm political, military, economic, and social control over Japan.

Hideyoshi had ambitions beyond Japan, but his military ventures abroad failed. In 1592 and again in 1597, he attempted to conquer Korea. Chinese armies fought off his first attack, and his second campaign ended with his death in 1598.



Hideyoshi's castle fortress in Ōsaka, surrounded by protective moat. Courtesy of Japanese National Tourist Organization, San Francisco.

Hideyoshi had been poised to establish a dynasty that would control Japan for generations, but he never realized this dream. That honor went to his rival in the east, Ieyasu. Hideyoshi had the misfortune of dying while his heir was still an infant. Before his death in 1598, Hideyoshi had made his top vassals, including Ieyasu, swear their allegiance to Hideyoshi's infant son. But in these turbulent times, oaths of loyalty meant little to a warrior with the power to seize control.

When Hideyoshi died, Ieyasu moved quickly. At the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, he crushed his last opponents to become the undisputed ruler of Japan. Where his predecessors had failed, he succeeded, establishing a dynasty that would last over 250 years. Thus out of a long period of chaos came the longest and most productive era of peace Japan had ever known, the Edo period (1600–1868) of the Tokugawa Shogunate, a time of prosperity and cultural flourishing.

Questions

1. Who were the three men who reunified Japan, and what did they have in common?
2. Once he became the ruler of Japan, how did Hideyoshi maintain his position as leader and stabilize the society?

Activity: Timeline Cards

For this activity, you will need four 3-by-5-inch index cards. On one side of each card write your name on the top right-hand corner. Then write one of the following on each card: Ieyasu; Warring States period; Hideyoshi; Nobunaga.

1. On the back of each card, write one or two sentences that say something important about the period or person.
2. Your teacher will pair you with a partner. Compare what you have written on each card. Check your partner's card for accuracy and point out errors if you see them.
3. On your own card make changes to improve your sentences.
4. With your partner, shuffle each set of cards, then lay them down in chronological order, and finally, number each card chronologically. Share your results with the rest of the class.

Tokugawa Control

After securing supremacy in Japan, Ieyasu took the imperial family, living in the capital city of Kyōtō, under his "protection" and control and increased financial support for them. In 1603 he had the emperor grant him the title of *shōgun.*

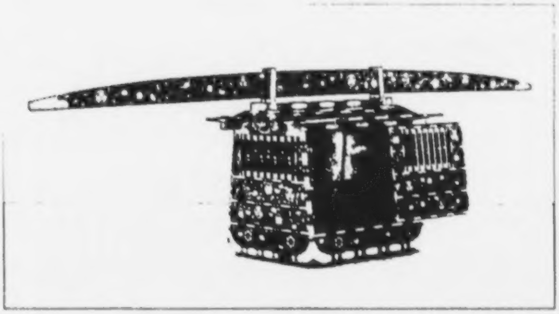
Ieyasu then focused his attention on the *daimyō*. After stripping enemy *daimyō* of their lands or moving them to other lands, he organized the remaining *daimyō* into three groups and followed Hideyoshi's practice of moving *daimyō* he did not trust away from him.

In the first group were lords who belonged to branches of the Tokugawa family. Because Ieyasu trusted them, he placed the most loyal and powerful on domains bordering his own domain on the great Kantō plain in eastern Japan. (See map "Japan, 1500–1870.") There they could serve as a prime line of defense against anyone trying to attack the Tokugawa capital of Edo. Other Tokugawa families received domains in major strategic spots throughout Japan.

In the second group of *daimyō* were lords, many with small holdings, who had been Ieyasu's vassals—those who served him under his protection. Although they were not part of the Tokugawa family, they had long supported Ieyasu. They too got land in strategic places throughout Japan.

In the final group were those who recognized Ieyasu as their lord only after he had demonstrated his supremacy at the Battle of Sekigahara. Hence, their loyalty to Ieyasu was suspect. Among them were many of Japan's strongest *daimyō*, some of whom had themselves sought to rule Japan. Because they threatened his power, Ieyasu moved them far from his base in Edo, too far away to attack him effectively. They would not only have to travel vast distances to reach him, they would also risk doing battle with the loyal *daimyō.*

Ieyasu took another step. He adopted a practice, long used in some parts of Japan, of having vassals send their wives and heirs to live as hostages in the territories of their lords. This act guaranteed a vassal's loyalty. He could not plot against the lord without losing his wife and heir, and he had to travel regularly between his home land and the lord's castle. Ieyasu and his descendants made this system mandatory for all *daimyō*, requiring them to leave their wives and heirs with the *shōgun's* court at Edo. Furthermore, they required the *daimyō* to come to Edo every other year or every two years to spend a full year there with their families. This policy allowed Ieyasu to keep watch on all the *daimyō*, and the huge expense of travel-



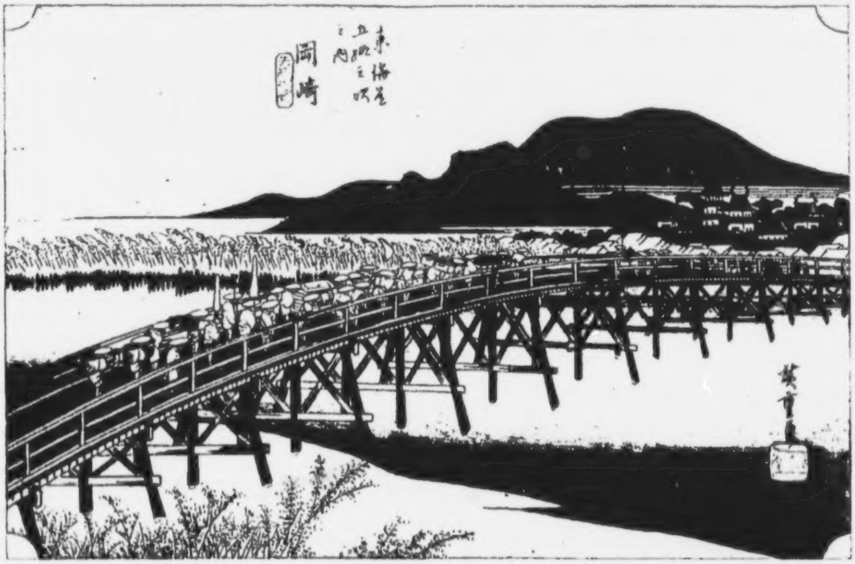
Palanquin, lacquer and gold on wood, early nineteenth century. The daimyō *and other aristocratic men, women, and children traveled in ornate palanquins, each holding a single person and carried by two or more bearers. This elaborately decorated palanquin was created for a Tokugawa bride. Courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., (S1985.1 a-h).*

ing to Edo so often thwarted the *daimyō* from raising an army against the *shōgun.*

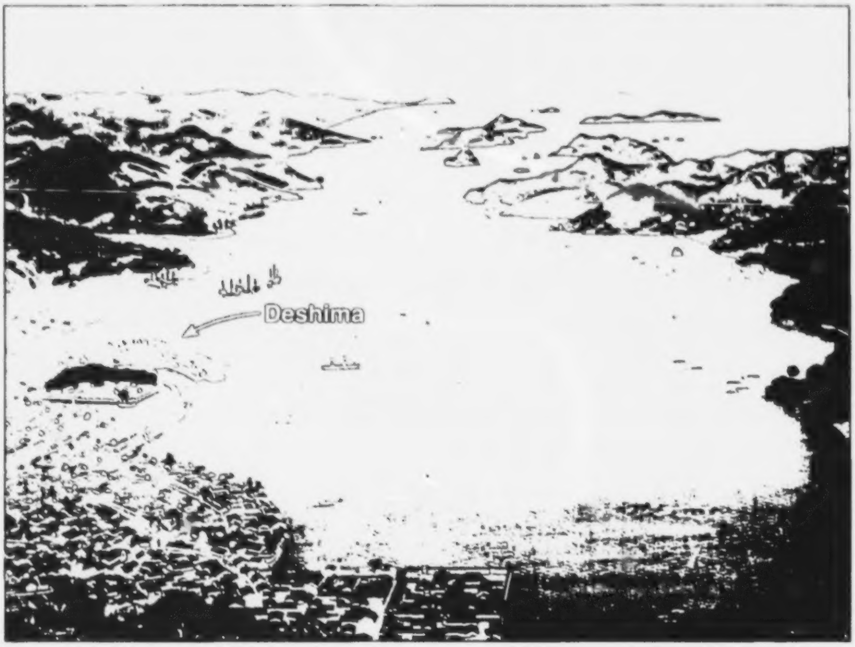
Law, custom, and pride required that *daimyō* travel in luxury, with servants and attendants and fine goods. The farther a *daimyō*, lived from Edo, the more it cost to travel there. *Daimyō* who lived farthest from Edo—those who posed the biggest threat to Ieyasu—spent a huge share of their wealth on these processions.

More than the threat of hostile *daimyō*, Ieyasu saw an even greater threat from the West. In the 1540s Portuguese merchant ships had brought European goods such as clocks and eyeglasses, along with new food plants, and Western cannons and guns in particular. The trade grew, and other European nations joined in. Of these, two were interested in more than trade: Spain and Portugal also sent Christian missionaries.

After Hideyoshi took control from Nobunaga, he began to suspect that Christianity threatened his power. He noted that the Portuguese Jesuits quarreled with the Spanish Franciscans. He found that new converts resisted swearing obedience to a military ruler, preferring to pledge their loyalty to the pope in Rome. Their reluctance made Hideyoshi suspect that these priests had ulterior motives. When he learned that Christian missionaries had helped Spain seize control of the Philippines, he swiftly enacted a ban on all missionaries in Japan. But for a full decade, he made no move to enforce the ban. Ieyasu and his successors continued this policy and finally expanded it by demanding that all Japanese renounce the foreign religion. Enforcement of the ban became severe after an uprising of Christian peasants and masterless samurai against local authorities in 1637. Thereafter, those who refused to renounce their Christian faith were brutally persecuted.



"The Bridge Over the Yahagi River at Okazaki." *A procession of* daimyō *cross the bridge at the town of Okazaki, the 39th station on the Tōkaidō. Woodblock print by Hiroshige, ca. 1832. Courtesy of Honolulu Academy of Arts, Gift of James A. Michener, 1955, (13666).*



Deshima, a tiny, fan-shaped artificial island in Nagasaki Harbor, can be seen left of center. During the Edo period foreigners were banned from Japan, but Dutch merchants were allowed to live and trade on Deshima under strict conditions. Deshima became the channel through which Western knowledge filtered into Japan. Painting by Kawahara Heiga, early 1800s. Courtesy of Kōbe Municipal Museum, Kōbe, Japan.

Ieyasu and his successors also understood the threat of Western weapons. Nobunaga had used guns and cannons to overwhelm his opponents, and the Tokugawa dynasty knew that any lord who secured enough Western weapons might be able to overthrow the shogunate.

This fear of Western arms and ideology prompted the Tokugawa government to shift its way of managing relations with the rest of the world. It expelled the Spanish and the Portuguese and pushed remaining European traders to the western edge of Japan. Although most Europeans left Japan, the Dutch were permitted to stay and trade at a port on the tiny island of Deshima in Nagasaki Harbor. Japanese trade with the rest of the world dwindled. Japan still traded with China and Korea, and even with Russia (through a *daimyō* in Hokkaidō), but the shogunate was determined to regain a firm grip on how often and with whom it traded. Unlike the internationally active Japan of Hideyoshi's time, Japan kept itself aloof from the rest of the world. Shogunate officials got detailed accounts of happenings in Europe, Asia, and elsewhere through the window on the world opened by the Dutch in Nagasaki. Nevertheless, for over 200 years, many of the enormous changes taking place around the world would leave Japan untouched.

Besides threats from the *daimyō* and the Europeans, Ieyasu faced a final problem—how to stabilize Japanese society after centuries of warfare. Again Ieyasu followed Hideyoshi's lead. He kept Hideyoshi's distinction between peasant and samurai and went beyond it. The samurai had traditionally received economic rewards for fighting for their lord, but now that Ieyasu had brought peace, the warrior role became less critical. Needing to find a way to keep the samurai loyal to his lord, Ieyasu turned to the form of Confucianism then flourishing in China.

Two Confucian ideas appealed to the Tokugawa shogunate. The first was the idea of government by a class of scholar bureaucrats. The second was its notion of social order based on a class system.

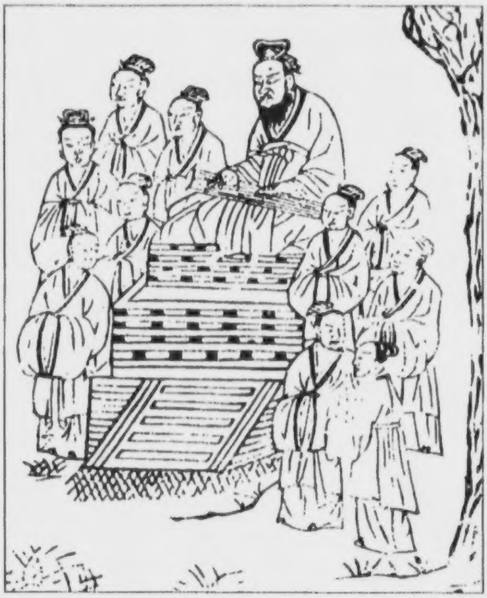
According to Confucianism, the state should be a centralized bureaucracy run by a class of well-educated and competent scholars. Ieyasu assigned this role to the samurai, who were now expected to educate themselves. Instead of rough

Confucianism in Japan

Confucianism, a system of principles and a code of ethics based on the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.), served as the foundation of Chinese life for hundreds of years. Confucianism made its way to Korea and then to Japan in about the sixth century. Although Japanese intellectuals studied Confucianism and borrowed a few of its administrative patterns and ideals, its principles and philosophy did not influence Japanese society much until the seventeenth century.

Confucianism emphasized order and stability maintained by a social hierarchy in which all people knew their places in the family and in society. Confucianism highlighted five social relationships—between ruler and subject, father and child, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and male friend and male friend—in which the superior was to behave responsibly and kindly toward his inferior, and the inferior was to be obedient and loyal to the superior. The link between male friends, based on honesty and trustworthiness, was the only relationship that was not based on rank.

Confucianism also taught that women were inferior to men and that society had four classes of people, in descending order of status: scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants.



Confucius and his followers. From A History of Chinese Block Prints. *Shanghai: Rennin Meishu, 1988, p. 100.*

A later form of Confucianism took hold in the early Edo period, when the Tokugawa shogunate effectively transformed the samurai's role from warrior to government administrator and established a class system with samurai at the top, then peasants and artisans, and then merchants at the bottom. Both measures helped stabilize Japanese society. (For a discussion of this later form of Confucianism, see "Tokugawa Control.")

soldiers, the samurai would become warrior-officials, called on to devote themselves to scholarship and study so as to become effective government officials.

The other important Confucian tenet was that society naturally fell into four unequal classes. At the top stood the scholar-officials. The samurai filled this role in Japan. As men of learning, culture, and military spirit, they claimed the right to run the government and to serve as moral examples to others. Far below the samurai in status were three classes of commoners—peasants, artisans, and merchants. The peasants, many of them farmers, produced the food on which everyone depended. Later, many of them moved to the urban centers that grew as commerce flourished within Japan. Immediately below the peasants were artisans. They were not essential to the survival of society, but they produced useful things that most people needed to live. The lowest class was the merchant class. To Confucianists, these people were necessary parasites. They produced nothing of their own, living completely off others' work. Outside and beneath the four classes was another class of outcasts. The shogunate identified people in this class as *eta* ("unclean people") or *hinin* (nonhumans). In many cases, the *eta* —the ancestors of a Japanese minority now known as *burakumin* (see Chapter 3, Section 3)—engaged in occupations that were considered unclean, such as butchering and leatherwork; *hinin* included traveling entertainers, beggars, and prostitutes. Although this class system broke down as Tokugawa society changed, the basic system held for over 200 years.

Activity: Explaining Tokugawa Control

1. Your teacher will divide you into groups of three. Choose one or more of the following words to learn and then explain the word to others in your group: *daimyō*, *shōgun*, Confucianism. For help, review the previous pages of this section and check the glossary.
2. You will be assigned one of the questions below. Review the essay "Tokugawa Control" and then respond orally to your group. After you complete your response to the question, invite your group to react to what you said. Do they agree or disagree with your response? Do they have anything to add?

    a How did Ieyasu control threats to his supremacy from the *daimyō?*
    b. How did Western countries pose a threat to Japan, and what did Ieyasu and his successors do about it?
    c. How did the Tokugawa shogunate stabilize Japanese society?

3. Share your responses with the class.

Bushidō: The Way of the Warrior

Although transforming samurai into administrators gave many warriors a new role, it did not solve the problem of what to do with them in time of peace. Many samurai engaged in scholarship and artistic endeavors, but because of the Confucian distaste for commercial activity, most would not demean themselves by doing day-to-day work, like merchants. The rise of urban culture, however, brought a vast array of luxuries—clothes, fine food, and all sorts of arts and entertainments—that appealed to people living in cities and towns. Many samurai indulged in unseemly pleasures, forgetting their moral obligations and the sense of discipline and honor that was supposed to be the heart of the warrior ethic.

This trend bothered some samurai. They began to record their thoughts on proper samurai conduct. Eventually their writings produced a formal code of behavior called *bushidō*—the way of the warrior. The code incorporated the old ideas of fearlessness and fierceness but added emphasis on morality and loyalty.

The following passages are from a work known as *Hagakure*, translated as "hidden behind leaves," composed by the warrior Yamamoto Tsunetomo (1659–1719). The book was popular in the Tokugawa period. It became popular again in the years leading up to World War II, and even today Japanese students and businessmen, nostalgic for the austere image traditionally associated with the samurai, read it for inspiration.

> We have sworn to do four things : namely :—
> (1) We will be second to none in performance of our duty :
> (2) We will make ourselves useful to our Lord :
> (3) We will be dutiful to our parents :
> (4) We will attain greatness in charity.
>
> * * * *
>
> Death comes to all, to the high and to the low. Death will come to you no matter if you are prepared for it or not. Of its certainty none is unaware. But as a matter of truth, you think that you will not be going until all others have gone. It is this

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way of thinking that misleads you and all others. Death will have crept up on you before you know. Meet it, be sure you meet it, always in all your readiness.

* * * *

While in the period of training, never think of relaxing. Be correct in form and studious in behavior even when in your own home.

Be sparing of speech. Where you would speak ten words, speak but one.

Guard your lips even before you speak one word. Aptly spoken, even a single word would be sufficient to prove your valour and fortitude. . . .

* * * *

He who looks knowing seldom wins others' confidence. His mind should be better disciplined. He should be unassuming; his features and manners restrained. His speech should be as modulated as his temper.

* * * *

As with feasting so with everything else: know when and where to stop. Even so with your life.

When you leave a festive place, take leave while you still desire to stay. When you feel you are satisfied, you have had more than enough. Enough is too much. Surfeit not yourself [do not overeat].

Let likewise be your [interactions] with your friends. Keep company with them, but never until you feel you have had enough of it.

* * * *

If you go forth to ford a stream without knowing its depths, you are apt to fall into depths and drown yourself. If you go dashing on in your service without knowing the current time or the disposition of your lord's mind, you may be of little service. Your own zeal may be your ruin. There are men who struggle to ingratiate themselves with their masters: but they are pitiable to see.

Before you ford a stream, acquaint yourself with its shallows and depths. When you mean to serve your master well, know his mind, all its turns and movement.

* * * *

When you feast and drink, lose not your mind. Men are apt to drink only because they wish to be drunk. Measure the cups you drain. He who fails to do so appears a glutton. Men are often judged by the way they drink. Men betray their minds when they are in a flush of drinks.

* * * *

When you are invited to dinner, beware how much you will drink. He who would be thought polite should know when to take leave. Be sure to go before the host begins to think how long you have been with him. As important [is] that you should not break up company too early.

* * * *

If thou art devoted to thy sovereign, thy parents will be pleased even as thy deity and ancestors will be. Sufficient for thee is to know thy sovereign. Remember: if thy heart be true, thy mind will never wander off duty.

* * * *

There is no end to one's training. Once you begin to feel that you are masters you are no longer getting on the way you are to follow. He who would attain heights should always know that he is not high enough. . . .

* * * *

Men of arms live a dual life, private and public. They live in their homes in one way and in the field of battle in another. But they forget that they cannot switch from the one to the other on a moment's notice.

Live each day as if you were in the field of battle. He who cannot live like a true soldier in his own home cannot be expected to acquit himself like a true soldier in the field of battle.

* * * *

When you are to punish any one of your own family, be sure that you yourself have not been at fault. Ask yourself if you have taught your family well and thoroughly enough in all things that they should do. This is an important point, because those who are under you generally try to do as you do. . . .

When you are asked to express your opinion in a public place or on an official occasion, say that you will give yours later, but not then and there. When you do express yourself, don't fail to add that you will be more certain of yourself when you have thought it over later. . . .

Counsel given offhand often proves wrong. Consult with as many minds as possible. Consult with the wise, consult with the mediocre, consult with your own family. So the saying goes, "Consult even with thine own knees when there are no others." . . .

When you are at a loss [on] how to choose your way, go to some one who is of deeper wisdom and more capable of understanding than you. His idea will be better than yours, because when he thinks for you his mind will be free from selfish thoughts.

The counsel of the wise may be likened to a giant tree: it grows out of many roots. Your own small understanding is like a single stick planted in soil.

There are many who would advise others. But there are few who would as lief [willingly] be instructed. And even fewer are those who would follow that with which they are instructed.

* * * *

Men who are said to be clever often become self-confident. Self-confidence often has the seeming of an undisciplined mind or manners.

When one is pleased with oneself one is open to flattery. He is apt to conduct himself flippantly, and therefore he becomes an object of derision.

* * * *

It would be wrong to make light of men because they have come of low stock. Think not you are better than they, because you were born higher and they were footmen in the former times. Those who have come up all the way from the bottom are more valuable than those who were born atop the ladder.

* * * *

When you are caught in a shower you would be soaked even if you ran or picked your way under eaves of houses, passing from door to door. Be content to become wet; and you will be spared much trouble. This attitude may be applied to many things in life.

From Z. Tamotsu Iwado, trans., "'Hagakure Bushidō' or The Book of the Warrior," *Cultural Nippon* 7:3 (November 1939): pp. 33–55; Z. Tamotsu Iwado, trans., "'Hagakure Bushidō' or The Book of the Warrior II," *Cultural Nippon* 7:4 (December 1939): pp. 57–78.

The Greater Learning for Women

For much of Japan's history, women have been subservient to men, certainly during the Tokugawa period. But in ancient Japan, powerful priestesses were common, and many important deities were female. In fact, the central figure of Japanese mythology is female: Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess.

In early Japan, women had significant economic and social power. Daughters, not sons, inherited property and titles, and a husband usually lived in the household of his wife's family, giving her family influence over the husband. During the eighth century, empresses reigned over Japan.

During the Heian period (794–1185), women were among Japan's greatest writers, including Murasaki Shikibu, who wrote *The Tale of Genji*, a masterpiece that is thought to be the world's first novel. Nevertheless, after the Heian period, women's status began to worsen. In Confucianism, men are inherently superior to women; hence men should rule, while women should serve and respect men.

Yet despite this decline, women continued to fill important roles. During the Kamakura period (1185–1333), one woman held a high post in the early Kamakura government. But as the warrior culture strengthened, the status of women fell further. Women of the samurai class lost the right to inherit property and by the sixteenth century became like property themselves. Upper-class women belonged to their fathers, brothers, and husbands, who used them as they saw fit, usually as pawns in their struggle to control more land. By the Tokugawa period this transformation was complete.

The following passages come from a work known as *Onna Daigaku* ("The Greater Learning for Women"), attributed to Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714), a prominent Confucian scholar of

Tokugawa Japan. *Onna Daigaku* not only sets forth the proper role of women in Tokugawa society; it also advises parents on the correct way to raise their daughters.

Seeing that it is a girl's destiny, on reaching womanhood, to go to a new home, and live in submission to her father-in-law and mother-in-law, it is even more incumbent upon her than it is on a boy to receive with all reverence her parents' instructions. Should her parents, through excess of tenderness, allow her to grow up self-willed, she will infallibly show herself capricious in her husband's house. . . .

More precious in a woman is a virtuous heart than a face of beauty. . . . The only qualities that befit a woman are gentle obedience, chastity, mercy, and quietness. . . .

[T]here are seven faults, which are termed "the Seven Reasons for Divorce": (i) A woman shall be divorced for disobedience to her father-in-law or mother-in-law. (ii) A woman shall be divorced if she fail[s] to bear children, the reason for this rule being that women are sought in marriage for the purpose of giving men posterity. A barren woman should, however, be retained if her heart is virtuous and her conduct correct and free from jealousy, in which case a child of the same blood must be adopted; neither is there any just cause for a man to divorce a barren wife, if he have children by a concubine. (iii) Lewdness is a reason for divorce. (iv) Jealousy is a reason for divorce. (v) Leprosy, or any like foul disease, is a reason for divorce. (vi) A woman shall be divorced, who, by talking overmuch and prattling disrespectfully, disturbs the harmony of kinsmen and brings trouble on her household. (vii) A woman shall be divorced who is addicted to stealing. . . .

It is the chief duty of a girl living in the parental house to practice filial piety [absolute devotion to one's parents]. But after marriage, her chief duty is to honor her father-in-law and mother-in-law—to honor them beyond her own father and mother. . . . Never should a woman fail, night and morning to pay her respects to her father-in-law and mother-in-law. Never should she be remiss in performing any tasks they may require of her. . . .

A woman has no particular lord. She must look to her husband as her lord, and must serve him with all worship and reverence, not despising or thinking lightly of him. The great life-long duty of a woman is obedience. In her dealings with her husband, both the expression of her countenance and the style of her address should be courteous, humble, and conciliatory, never peevish and intractable, never rude and arrogant. . . . When the husband issues his instructions, the wife must never disobey them. . . . A woman should look on her husband as if he were Heaven itself. . . .

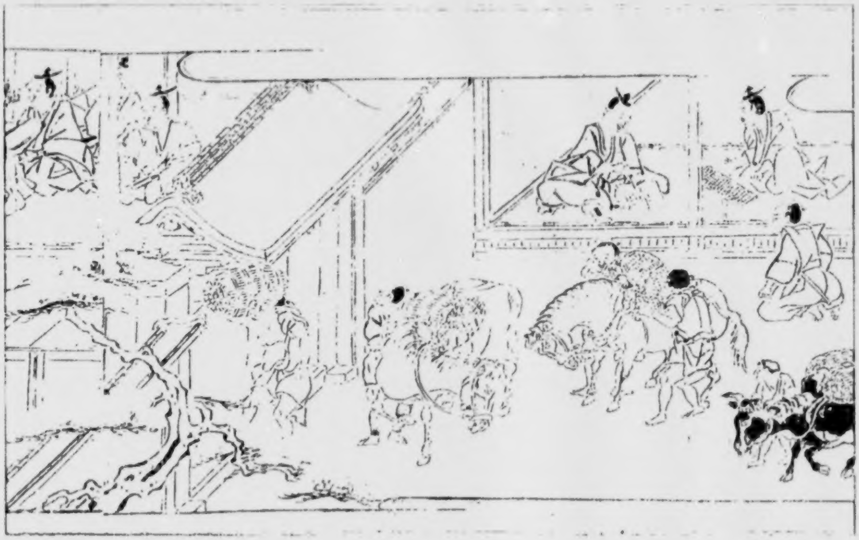
Let her never even dream of jealousy. If her husband be dissolute [immoral], she must expostulate [reason earnestly] with him, but never nurse or vent her anger. If her jealousy be extreme, it will render her countenance frightful and her accents repulsive, and can only result in completely alienating her husband from her, and making her intolerable in his eyes. Should her husband act ill and unreasonably, she must compose her countenance and soften her voice to remonstrate [plead in protest] with him; and if he be angry and listen not to the remonstrance, she must wait over a season, and then expostulate [reason earnestly] with him again when his heart is softened. Never set thyself up against thy husband with harsh features and a boisterous voice! . . .

A woman must be ever on the alert, and keep a strict watch over her own conduct. In the morning she must rise early, and at night go late to rest. Instead of sleeping in the middle of the day, she must be intent on the duties of her household, and must not weary of weaving, sewing, and spinning. . . .

The five worst maladies that afflict the female mind are indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy, and silliness. Without any doubt, these five maladies infest seven or eight out of every ten women, and it is from these that arises the inferiority of women to men. A woman should cure them by self-inspection and self-reproach. The worst of them all, and the parent of the other four, is silliness. . . . Such is the stupidity of her character that it is incumbent in her, in every particular, to distrust herself and to obey her husband. . . .

Parents! Teach the foregoing maxims to your daughters from their tenderest years! . . .

From Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Things: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan.* Reprinted with permission of Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc. of Boston, MA, and Tōkyō, Japan.



Farmers paying taxes, in the form of rice, to representatives of the daimyō. *Artist unknown, late 1500s. Courtesy of Historiographical Institute, The University of Tōkyō.*

Activity: Explaining to Others

1. Your teacher will assign you to treat one of these features of Tokugawa Japan: the ideal samurai; the ideal woman. In a question-and-answer format, write a dialogue with an imaginary person who knows nothing of Japanese history, explaining the characteristics of the ideal samurai or the ideal woman.
2. Group yourself with two other students who have the same subject and share your dialogue with them.
3. In a class session, discuss how you might explain your subject, the types of questions people might ask, and responses you might give.
4. For homework, find an adult who has not studied the history of Japan but is willing to sit down and listen to you. After you have explained your topic, have the adult write a brief note to your teacher about reactions to what you discussed.
5. At the next class session, share your experiences with others.
6. Explain your topic to a classmate who had a different topic from yours. In turn, take notes as you listen to your partner explain his or her topic to you.
7. Using your notes, write a summary of about 100 words describing the topic your partner explained to you.
8. List five adjectives that describe the virtues of an ideal samurai and an ideal woman.

Changes and Developments

The Tokugawa reforms succeeded so well at producing a stable society that Japan remained at peace for nearly 250 years. During this time period Japan changed in ways that early Tokugawa rulers could not have predicted.

For the peasants peace brought mixed results. While they were allowed to farm without the constant threat of warfare, high taxes burdened them. Sporadic floods and drought caused severe famines in the countryside. Although the shogunate had developed an extensive road system, government at both the central and local levels often refused to extend aid to the suffering peasants. Thousands died of disease and starvation.

Of those who survived, many lived in poverty. They had to borrow from wealthier peasants and lost their land when they could not repay their loans. Without land they became indentured servants, tenant farmers, or low-wage laborers. In extreme cases, peasant families became so impoverished that they had to sell their daughters into prostitution to make ends meet. When conditions in the countryside became unbearable, peasants rose in rebellion.

Despite this harsh situation, country life gradually improved. Production increased as farmers began to experiment with crop rotation, crop breeding, and fertilizers. Except in times of natural disaster, Japan could feed its growing population.

For the few wealthier peasants in the countryside, the Tokugawa period brought many benefits. They expanded their land holdings, often at the expense of poorer peasants. Over time, they moved from farming into other work, such as producing *sake* (Japanese rice wine), soy sauce, and oil. They also began small-scale manufacturing of cloth, pottery, and other products. Some grew very wealthy. Other peasants, ignoring the Tokugawa law that forbade them to leave the land, left to find jobs in towns. While some found urban life dark and miserable, others found that they could make a decent living in Edo, Ōsaka, or Kyōtō.

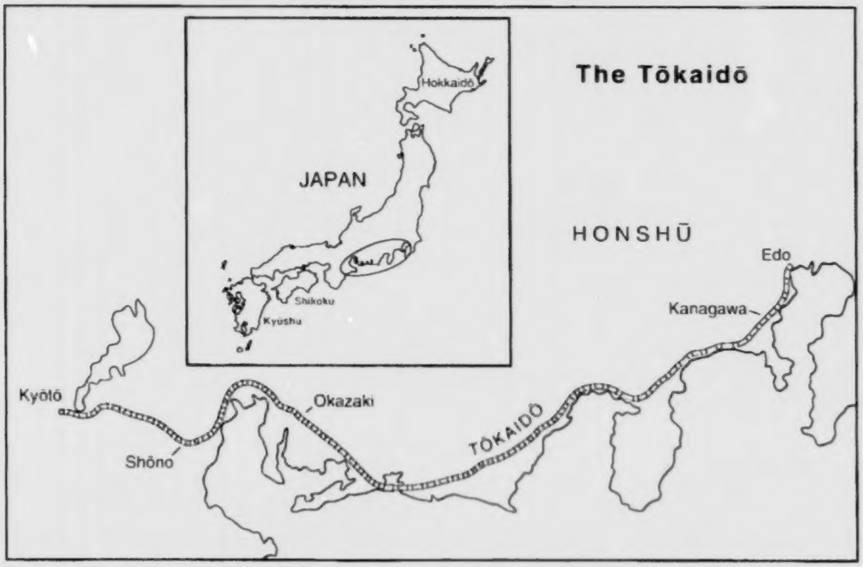
On orders of the Tokugawa shogunate, wives and children of the *daimyō* lived in Edo, and the *daimyō* themselves were detained in Edo every other year, along with all their retainers and servants. (In years when the *daimyō* were not living in Edo, they lived in their own domains.)

In Edo, Ōsaka, and other urban centers, artisans and merchants —known as *chōnin* ("townspeople")—profited by catering to the needs of the *daimyō*, their families, and their retainers. In this way Edo grew and grew. When Ieyasu set up his capital in 1606, Edo was a tiny fishing village. By the end of the Tokugawa era, it had become one of the world's largest cities. Today it is the thriving metropolis we know as Tōkyō.

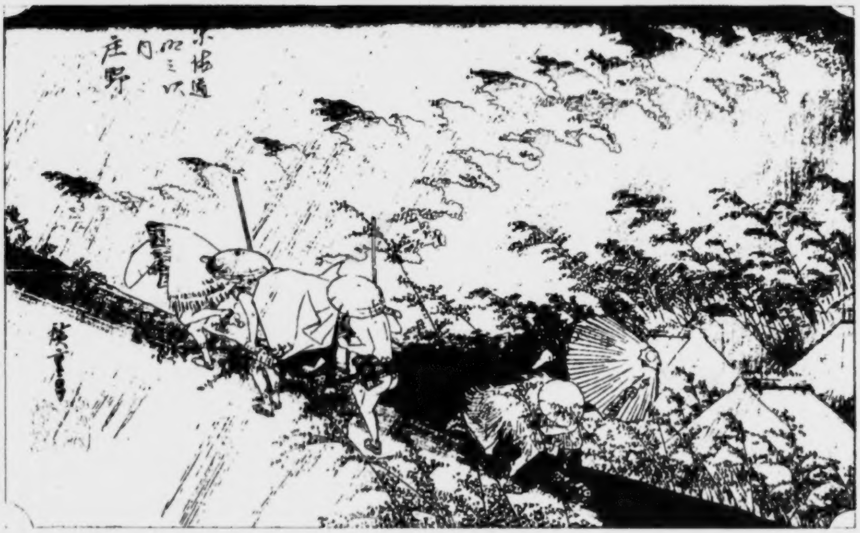
Other cities also grew. The port of Ōsaka in central Japan, for example, grew into a major economic center. Goods from western and central Japan collected in Ōsaka, where merchants shipped them out to Edo and other towns. Smaller towns sprang up to supply the *daimyō* processions with food, shelter, entertainment, and goods for the journey to the capital. One of these roads, the Tōkaidō, became Japan's central economic artery. Running between Kyōtō and Edo, this road and the travelers who used it spurred the growth of most of Japan's larger cities. Today, much of Japan's industrial belt runs along this ancient thoroughfare.

One result of these changes was increasing contact among people from different parts of Japan. Before the Tokugawa period, the roads were poor and unsafe, and travel was difficult. People of different provinces had different customs, ate different foods, and spoke such different dialects that it was difficult for them to understand each other.

During the Tokugawa period this situation changed. As the grand retinues of *daimyō* from different areas of Japan traveled regularly along the



The Tōkaidō, one of several roads connecting parts of Japan, extended from Heian (Kyōtō) to Edo (Tōkyō).



"Driving Rain at Shōno." *Palanquin bearers and villagers are caught in a sudden downpour at Shōno, the 46th Station on the Tōkaidō. Woodblock print by Hiroshige, ca. 1833. Courtesy of Honolulu Academy of Arts, Gift of James A. Michener, 1955, (16,619).*

Tōkaidō and other commercial routes to Edo, some of the retainers came into contact with other people, customs, and products. As goods and information moved across regions, Japan became more economically interdependent.

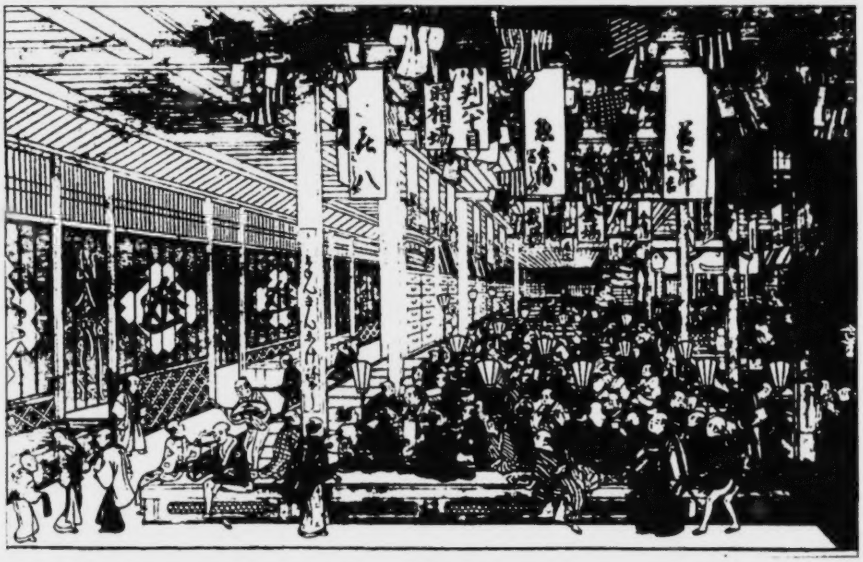
Perhaps the most important change of the period was the rise of the merchant class and the increasing importance of money. By law and custom, the *daimyō* had to keep expensive residences in Edo. To maintain appearances, they entertained with lavish banquets and bought fine clothes and expensive goods. Successful merchants grew rich as they supplied the *daimyō* and their retainers and the rest of Edo's people with goods and services. The merchants also profited from exchanging money for rice, which was what the *daimyō* paid the samurai in return for their service and loyalty.

Captive to the Confucian way of looking at society, early Tokugawa rulers dismissed and derided the activities of merchants. Meanwhile, still thinking of Japan solely as an agricultural country, the shogunate and the domain governments collected most of their taxes from peasants, who suffered a monstrous tax burden while merchants kept most of their profits.

While some merchants grew wealthy, the income of the *daimyō* and samurai remained the same. Living costs had risen in urban areas, including Edo. This rise only compounded the enormous costs of moving a *daimyō*'s entire retinue to Edo every year or two, as the shogunate required. The wealth of the *daimyō* was based on the output of the land they controlled, and the wealth of the samurai was based on a fixed stipend (a regular allowance paid for services and daily expenses) they received in rice. To survive, many samurai lived frugally. Other samurai borrowed heavily from merchants to finance indulgent lifestyles. Over time some samurai, including *daimyō*, became indebted to the merchants.

To some, Tokugawa society seemed to have turned upside down. The shogunate had decreed that no commoner could become a warrior and no warrior could become a commoner, but the indebtedness of the supposedly mighty samurai to low-status merchants defied the Confucian class system. Growing numbers of lower samurai struggled with mounting debts. Trying to negotiate easier terms of repayment, some samurai lavished gifts on their merchant creditors. Indebted warriors also gave merchants special privileges, sometimes even granting them the right to bear swords, a privilege restricted to the samurai. In contrast to the hard-pressed warriors, some successful merchants were able to live in opulence.

Officially, merchants still stood on the lowest rung of the social order. In reality, however, the changes occurring during the Edo period enabled



Clerks and customers in a store in Edo. Woodblock print by Utagawa Toyoharu, early 1800s. Courtesy of Mitsui Bunko, Tōkyō.

members of the merchant class to amass great wealth and influence and forced some samurai to drastically cut back on expenses or sink into indebtedness. In the end, this threat to the official social order undermined the stability of the Tokugawa shogunate.

Activity: Summaries

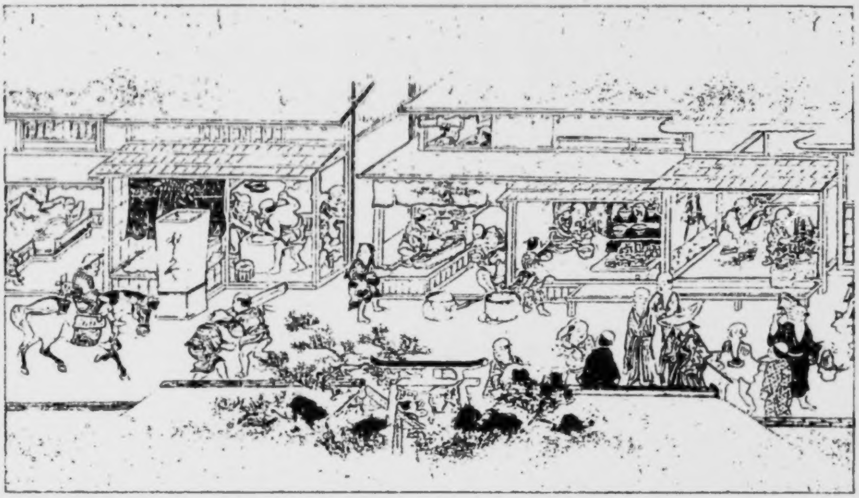
1. In one paragraph, summarize the situation of peasants during the Edo period.
2. In a second paragraph, summarize the changes that led to the rise of the merchant class.
3. Exchange your summaries with two or three classmates to see how others have condensed the main ideas of the reading. Then edit your summaries to improve them—moving sentences, crossing out words and phrases, and inserting others. Be sure to use your own words and phrases.
4. Rewrite each summary on clean paper.
5. Give your teacher both your working drafts (steps 1–3) and your rewritten summaries (step 4).

Urban Life and Culture

Townspeople, merchants, and artisans dominated the realm of culture. One of the arts that felt the impact of merchant influence was the theater. Before the Tokugawa period, the dominant form of theater was Nō. This slow-paced dance-theater was performed on a nearly empty stage by two or three actors with simple masks and folding fans. Although Nō remained popular among the samurai, the townspeople never took to it. The well-worn stories about warriors, wicked priests, evil villains, beautiful maidens, battles, demons, monsters, and ghosts still had appeal. But the townspeople craved theater that was exciting, colorful, and dramatic, with elaborate costumes and stage props.

As a result, two new forms of theater emerged. The first was puppet theater, called *bunraku*. The second was live-actor theater known as kabuki, which grew immensely popular during the Edo period.

Kabuki was originally a dance show associated with prostitution. But when the Tokugawa shogunate responded by banning women from the stage, male actors filled female roles, and plots, scenery, and staging grew more elaborate and lively. Soon, kabuki incorporated skilled acting, dramatic story lines, and fantastic costumes and stage props. The best actors became superstars, setting fashion trends across the country. Kabuki became so popular that even samurai watched performances.



A row of shops in Edo during the Tokugawa period. Copyright The British Museum, *London.*

Another important artistic form was the woodblock print. Previous artists had to hand-paint each work they produced. During the Tokugawa period artists hired carvers to etch their artwork on wooden blocks. By printing from blocks, one block for each color, they could make reproductions quickly and inexpensively. Artists devised techniques for laying down several colors, enabling them to make bright and beautiful prints. By bringing down the cost of each copy, woodblock prints made artwork affordable for more people. As more people bought works of art, the artwork itself changed to please their tastes.

The woodblock print that emerged during the Edo period is called *ukiyo-e,* which means "pictures of the floating world." The floating world—*ukiyo*—referred to the pleasure districts in the towns—areas of theaters, teahouses, restaurants, and brothels. The night spots of the era, they were the great entertainment centers. Here a man could drink some sake, hear a singer or storyteller, watch dancers, or view a wrestling match or an acrobatic show. And it was here that men came to spend time with geisha, courtesans, and prostitutes.[3]

The most famous of the pleasure quarters was the walled Yoshiwara district in Edo. It was here that the most popular entertainers lived and worked, and it was here that the wealthiest men spent time with the most exquisite, skilled, and desired geisha, courtesans, and entertainers. The fame of the entertainers of Yoshiwara was like the fame of today's top actors, actresses, and supermodels. They lived in wealth and luxury. Their patrons and admirers in the cities knew their names, their faces, and their personal histories. Block-printed pictures of these women appeared everywhere, and ardent fans collected them. But in other ways, these women differed from today's popular entertainers. Probably the greatest difference was their lack of freedom. Most of them were like indentured servants. Usually their poor and desperate parents had sold them to entertainment houses. An entertainment house would pay the parents a fee and promise to feed, clothe, house, and train their daughter. Some eventually managed to buy their freedom, but many could not.

The training a girl received and the profession she entered depended on the kind of house she had been sold into. Although the apprenticeship was long and difficult, a talented girl could become skilled in dance, song, stories, games, witty conversation, and fine manners. When she was old enough, she would begin to pay her debt to the entertainment house.

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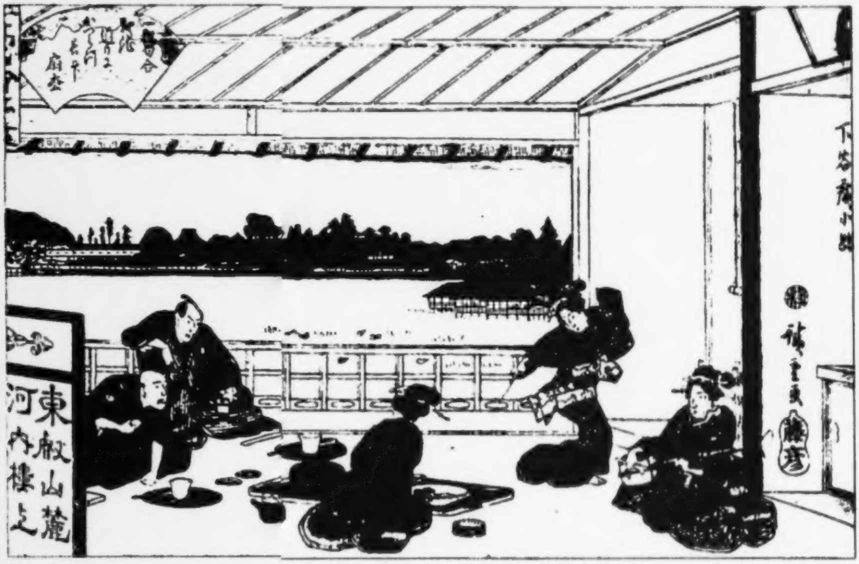
[3] Among the three groups, geisha held the highest status. They distinguished themselves with their rigorous training in the arts of music and dance and their status as professional entertainers. Courtesans also had some training in dance and music and had a fair degree of education. Patronized by upper-class men, courtesans demanded a higher price than ordinary prostitutes.



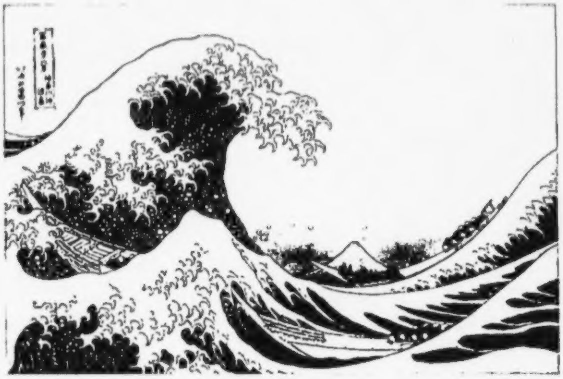
Geisha entertaining at a restaurant. Woodblock print by Hiroshige, early 1800s. Courtesy of Suntory Museum of Art, Tōkyō.

The culture of Tokugawa Japan often idealized geisha as wealthy professionals, but the other side of the story was that these women were also expected to sleep with their patrons. Although geisha of high status could turn down patrons they did not like, they lived a difficult and tragic life. Despite their material comfort, geisha remained bound by the rules of their owners.

Even more hapless were the vast mass of women of the pleasure quarters who had been sold into common brothels as prostitutes. These were the children of poor peasants living at the brink of starvation. Agents often deceived these parents into thinking that their daughters were entering geisha houses. Because the peasants lived far from the towns, they never knew that their daughters had fallen into deplorable lives.

This was the floating world, a world drifting aimlessly in the pursuit of pleasure, with no moral guidance or thought for the future. *Ukiyo-e,* the pictures of the floating world, captured this world. Artists depicted courtesans putting on makeup, famous actors in dramatic poses, and sumo wrestlers engaged in matches.

Other woodblock prints depicted more traditional Japanese subjects such as trees, flowers, and other views of nature. But instead of the subtle and meditative black and white artwork of brush and ink, the *ukiyo-e* prints were brilliant, exciting, and colorful. Among these prints are two famous series by the brilliant artists Hiroshige and Hokusai. Hiroshige is best known for his series "Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō," which shows scenes at each of the fifty-three checkpoints on the main road between Edo and Ōsaka. Hokusai is famous for his "Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji," a collection of prints showing the mountain from different angles, at different distances, and in different seasons.



"The Great Wave at Kanagawa" *is a famous woodblock print from the series "The Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji" by Hokusai.* From Hokusai CD-Rom Anthology, Albron, CA: Master Graphique, 1997.

Questions

1. What was *ukiyo-e*?
2. Discuss the status of women in Tokugawa Japan—as wives and as geisha. What differences do you find? What similarities? In general, which were in a better situation? Give reasons for your view.

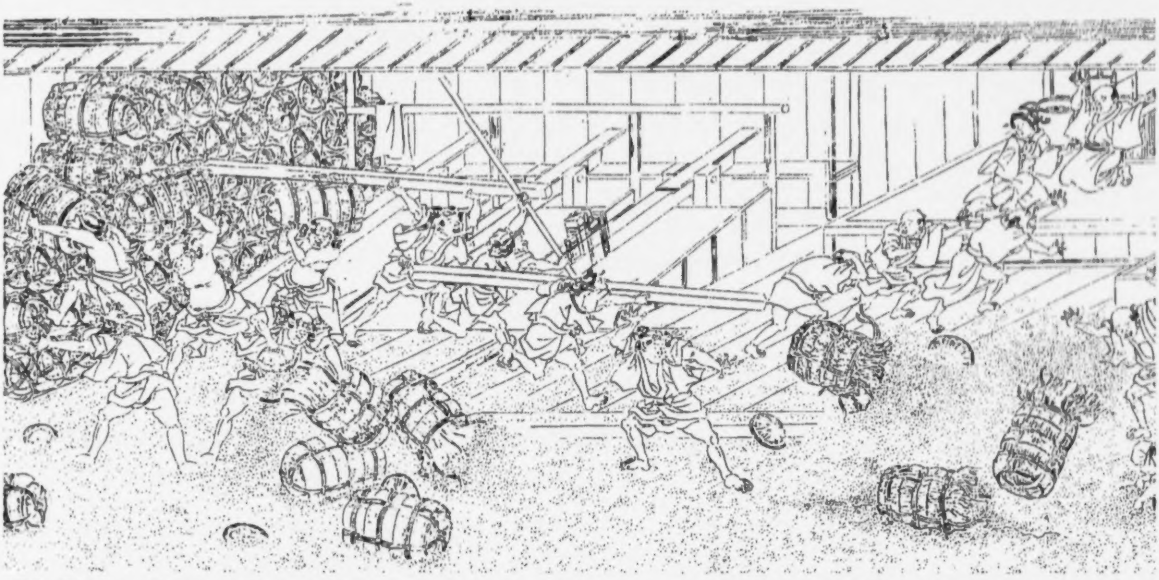
The Breakdown of Tokugawa Control

During the second century of Tokugawa rule, the shogunate slowly declined. The government deteriorated from a tough, disciplined military authority into a debt-ridden bureaucracy with growing numbers of uninterested or incompetent officials who gained office through rank rather than ability. Tokugawa Ieyasu had been a ruthless but effective leader. His successors, however, were less able. As time went on, ineffective shoguns began to outnumber able ones. Some were too young, others too cruel, and yet others were plagued by illness. Aside from a few capable shoguns and senior advisors who ruled when a *shōgun* was too young, most top shogunate officials were simply ill-suited to lead the country, often preferring the high arts to the day-to-day work of governing.

But the government was in no immediate danger, and the people noticed nothing to alarm them. It was, after all, a time of peace and prosperity for many. City dwellers and townspeople who could afford it enjoyed the pleasures of the flourishing urban culture. Even those who could not afford luxury sometimes borrowed money to enjoy themselves.

By the late 1700s, however, the Tokugawa regime was encountering more and more problems. Great political and economic changes were slowly but surely eroding the rigid Confucian social order that grounded Tokugawa society.

The Tokugawa shogunate grew uneasy over the growing extravagance of urban culture and issued laws to penalize overspending. But people ignored the laws or found ways around them. The government was also nervous about the debts of the warrior class and from time to time forced merchants to cancel debts or accept partial repayment. But the money culture was now firmly entrenched, so the merchants kept their critical and profitable role. Especially in Edo, Ōsaka, and other urban areas, the wealth of the merchants was impossible to ignore, as some of them wore the



"Edo Riot" *by Hosoya Syomo. Ink painting, Tokugawa period. Courtesy of the Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō.*

most expensive clothes and threw the most spectacular parties.

As merchants gained wealth and importance, samurai struggled to adjust to the changes in society. In this time of peace, vast numbers of restless *rōnin*, or "masterless samurai," discovered that their fighting skill counted for little in a money-based economy. More and more warriors, including *daimyō*, were sinking under the weight of debt. The upper-class samurai in the cities were particularly guilty of overspending on luxuries. Lower-class samurai, despite their high official status, struggled to cover their daily expenses.

In both the cities and the countryside, the gap between rich and poor widened. Some wealthy peasants profited from owning land and collecting taxes from poor peasants. Poor peasants, by contrast, led a much more precarious existence. Hard-pressed by heavy taxes and inflation, poor farmers struggled to eke out a living. Famine and epidemics also devastated them. City and town dwellers also endured severe conditions, such as rising prices and food shortages.

The peasants and poor urban dwellers periodically rose up in protest at their miserable conditions. In the 1700s and 1800s three severe famines led to peasant riots. Urban disturbances also increased. But all the uprisings were separate incidents without common leadership or a common agenda.

Meanwhile the outside world was impinging on Japan. Although the Tokugawa shogunate maintained strict control of its subjects' contacts with foreigners, Japan was by no means totally isolated. The shogunate regulated trade and contact with the Dutch at the tiny trading port of Deshima in Nagasaki Harbor. Limited but more or less regular trade with the Chinese, Koreans, and Russians also continued.

Although Nagasaki was far from the capital at Edo, officials in contact with the Dutch learned of amazing scientific and technological discoveries in European countries, the dominant powers in the world at the time.

At the beginning of Tokugawa rule, the shogunate had banned all Western books from Japan. But in 1720 they relaxed the laws, allowing some non-Christian books into the country. Even though most Japanese scholars considered Western knowledge inferior to the culture that Japan had imported from China, a few curious Japanese began studying the scientific and technological knowledge of the Dutch. Impressed with the accuracy of Western astronomy and medicine, they tried to convince others that Japan could learn much from the West.

They urged the shogunate to adopt Western science and technology; some even argued that Japan should study Western politics and economics. A few openly criticized the Tokugawa policy of isolation. But for the most part the Tokugawa government declined to embrace Western knowledge.

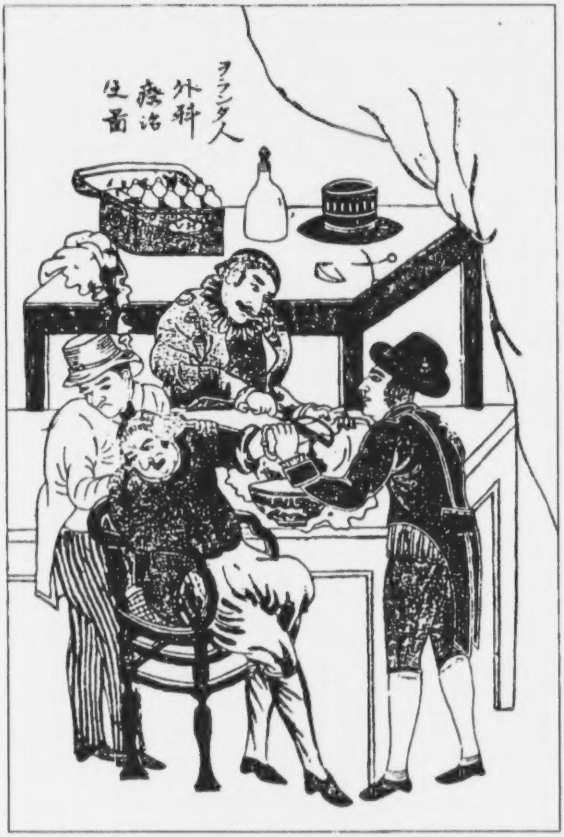
At times the Tokugawa shogunate punished those who criticized the isolation policy. Generally, however, the shogunate left others alone to continue their Dutch studies. By the late 1700s the handful of such scholars had become a substantial number of men from all classes and various parts of Japan. These scholars would later provide their country with important knowledge of the West that Japan would need after its doors were forced open.

Dutch Studies

Earlier in its history Japan had looked to China as a source of knowledge in philosophy, religion, law, science, medicine, and technology. In Edo times, the official ideology of Confucianism elevated Chinese learning. In Western science, however, the Japanese confronted a system of knowledge that contrasted drastically with the Chinese system. At a time when most Japanese rejected Western science, early students of Dutch medicine began conducting experiments to test both systems. They were surprised to discover that in most cases Western science was more accurate.

The following passage was written by Sugita Gempaku (1733–1817), one of the early scholars of Dutch learning. The passage describes the first dissection Sugita attended. In the passage, he and his colleagues compare a dissected corpse with a Dutch book on anatomy and a book of Chinese medicine.

Somehow, miraculously I obtained a book on anatomy written in that country. It may well be that the Dutch studies in this country began when I

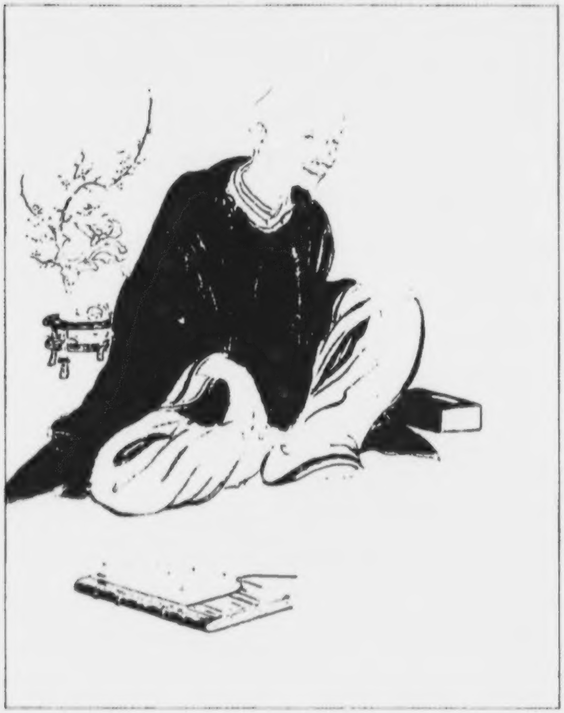

ヲランダ人外科療治之図

Dutch Surgery. The translation of the words written in Japanese is "Illustration of Dutch surgery treatment." Woodblock print, artist unknown, publisher unknown. From Cal French, Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639–1853. *Rochester, Michigan: Meadow Brook Art Gallery, 1977, p. 46.*

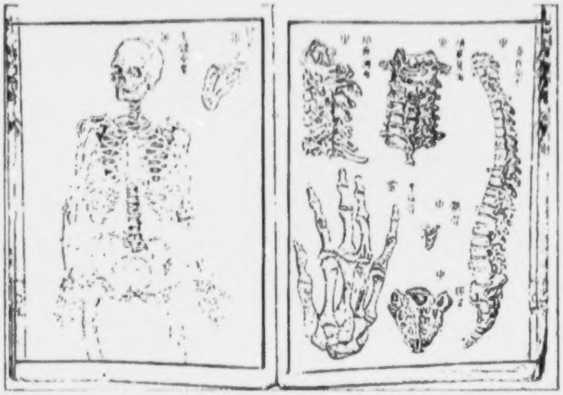
thought of comparing the illustrations in the book with real things. It was a strange and even miraculous happening that I was able to obtain that book in that particular spring of 1771. Then at the night of the third day of the third month, I received a letter from a man by the name of Tokuno Bambei. . . . Tokuno stated in his letter that "a post-mortem examination of the body of a condemned criminal by a resident physician will be held tomorrow at Senjukotsugahara. You are welcome to witness it if you so desire.". . . I rejoiced at this unusually fortunate circumstance . . . and decided to share it with those of my colleagues who were diligent in the pursuit of their medicine. . . . Among those I invited was one Ryōtaku. . . .

The next day, when we arrived at the location . . . , Ryōtaku reached under his kimono to produce a Dutch book and showed it to us. "This is a Dutch book of anatomy called Tabulae Anatomicae. I bought this a few years ago when I went to Nagasaki, and kept it." As I examined it, it was the same book I had and was of the same edition. We held each other's hands and exclaimed: "What a coincidence!" Ryōtaku continued by saying: "When I went to Nagasaki, I learned and heard," and opened his book. "These are called *long* in Dutch, they are lungs," he taught us. "This is *hart,* or the heart. When it says *maag* it is the stomach, and when it says *milt* it is the spleen." However, they did not look like the heart given in the Chinese medical books, and none of us were sure until we could actually see the dissection.

Thereafter we went together to the place which was especially set for us to observe the dissection in Kotsugahara. . . . Those dissections were performed in those days by men of the eta class. . . . That day, the old butcher pointed to this and that organ. After the heart, liver, gall bladder, and stomach were identified, he pointed to other parts for which there were no names. "I don't know their names. But I have dissected quite a few bodies from my youthful days. Inside of everyone's abdomen there were these parts and those parts." Later, after consulting the anatomy chart, it became clear to me that I saw an arterial tube, a vein, and the suprarenal gland. The old butcher again said, "Every time I had a dissection, I pointed out to those physicians many of these parts, but not a single one of them questioned 'what was this?' or 'what was that?'" We compared the body as dissected against the charts both Ryōtaku and I had, and could not find a single variance from the charts. The Chinese Book of Medicine (I Ching) says that the lungs are like the eight petals of the lotus flower, with three petals hanging in front, three in back, and two petals forming like two ears and that the liver has three petals to the left and four petals to the right. There were no such divisions, and the positions and shapes of intestines and gastric organs were all different from



Sugita Gempaku at the age of 80. Painting by Ishikawa Tairō, 1812. Courtesy of Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.



The first Japanese translation of a Western medical work was this book on anatomy by Sugita Gempaku. Courtesy of Kōbe City Museum, Kōbe, Japan. Photography by Hatakeya Takashi.

those taught by the old theories. The official physicians, Dr. Okada Yōsen and Dr. Fujimoto Rissen, had witnessed dissection seven or eight times. Whenever they witnessed the dissection, they found that the old theories contradicted reality. Each time they were perplexed and could not resolve their doubts. Every time they wrote down what they thought was strange. They wrote in their books, "The more we think of it, there must be fundamental differences in the bodies of Chinese and [Japanese]. I could see why they wrote this way.

That day, after the dissection was over, we decided that we also should examine the shape of the skeletons left exposed on the execution ground. We collected the bones, and examined a number of them. Again, we were struck by the fact that they all differed from the old theories while conforming to the Dutch charts.

The three of us, Ryōtaku, Junan, and I, went home together. On the way home we spoke to each other and felt the same way. "How marvelous was our actual experience today. It is a shame that we were ignorant of these things until now. As physicians who serve their masters through medicine, we performed our duties in complete ignorance of the true form of the human body. How disgraceful it is. Somehow, through this experience, let us investigate further the truth about the human body. If we practice medicine with this knowledge behind us, we can make contributions for people under heaven and on this earth." Ryōtaku spoke to us. "Indeed, I agree with you wholeheartedly." Then I spoke to my companion. "Somehow if we can translate anew this book called Tabulae Anatomicae, we can get a clear notion of the human body inside out. It will have great benefit in the treatment of our patients. . . ."

The next day, we assembled at the house of Ryōtaku and recalled the happenings of the previous day. When we faced that Tabulae Anatomicae, we felt as if we were setting sail on a great ocean in a ship without oars or a rudder. With the magnitude of the work before us, we were dumbfounded by our own ignorance. However, Ryōtaku . . . knew some Dutch through studying and hearing, and knew some sentence patterns and words. . . . At that time I did not know the twenty-five letters of the Dutch alphabet. I decided to study the language with firm determination. . . .

From David John Lu, ed., *Japan: A Documentary History*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997, pp. 264–266.

Questions

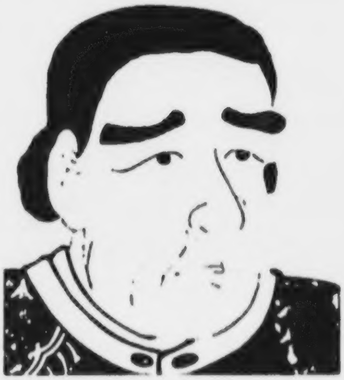
1. What were some of the signs that the Tokugawa shogunate was losing control of events?
2. In the story about Dutch studies, the word *eta* refers to outcasts now called *burakumin*, who held jobs that the Japanese considered unclean. (See Chapter 3, Section 3, for a discussion of the *burakumin*.) The *burakumin* in this story had dissected many humans. Why do you suppose previous Japanese physicians who had witnessed dissections had not asked the butcher what he knew about human anatomy?
3. Create a title for the story on Dutch studies.
4. Examine the woodblock print "Dutch Surgery." Describe what you see happening. What is the artist trying to convey in this illustration? Explain your inferences.

Japan and the West

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Japan could no longer ignore the West. European trade with China, the American whaling industry in the Pacific, and Russian exploration had brought hundreds of Western ships into waters near Japan. The ships needed supplies of coal, food, and fresh water, and Japan would have been a convenient place to get them. Japan would also have been a convenient place to repair ships damaged during storms. But the Tokugawa government's official position was to forbid foreigners to land on Japan's shores. Even Western sailors shipwrecked in Japanese waters were often imprisoned and denied medical treatment before being sent to Nagasaki for expulsion.

As the number of ships in the north Pacific mounted, Western nations—conquering and colonizing other parts of the non-Western world—pressured Japan for some type of formal relations. In 1804 the Russians made a request, followed by the British in 1818, and the Americans in 1837. The shogunate rejected them all.

But during the next decade, as the Western powers grew increasingly confident of their military might, they began to act more aggressively. In 1839 Britain declared war on China for trying to stop the British from selling opium to the Chinese.



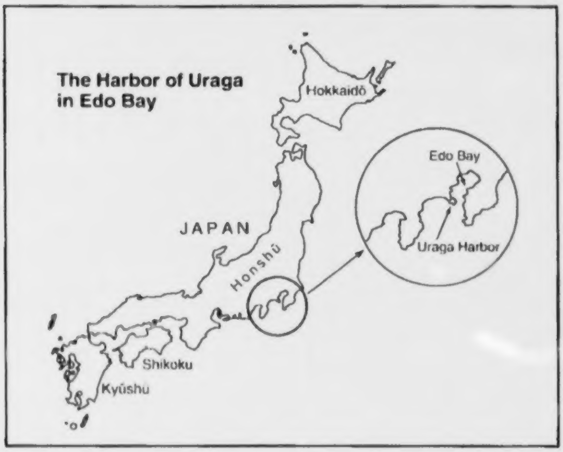
A painting of Commodore Perry by a Japanese artist, executed soon after Perry's visits to Japan. What impressions of Perry does this work portray? Courtesy of Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Despite the corruptness of their cause, the British with their heavy guns soundly defeated China. Chinese swords, spears, and wooden ships were no match for Western military technology. In 1842 Britain forced China to sign the humiliating Treaty of Nanking, forcing China to open more trading ports, to surrender land, and to pay a huge indemnity. Later treaties with other Western countries forced China to give more special rights and privileges to foreigners.

Hearing what was happening in China, the Tokugawa shogunate relented a bit and gave coastal *daimyō* permission to provide food, water, and fuel to Western ships that foundered in Japanese waters. Nonetheless, the ships were still to be sent on their way at once. By this time, however, such token gestures were not enough. The Western powers wanted full commercial relations with Japan and were willing to use force to get it.

In 1853 U.S. President Millard Fillmore sent Commodore Matthew C. Perry to Japan with four powerful warships and a letter to the emperor. When Perry's ships arrived at Uraga Harbor at the mouth of Edo (Tōkyō) Bay, they caused a furor among the Japanese. The "black ships of the evil men," as the Japanese called them, belched clouds of black smoke, and their huge cannons were poised ominously in a show of force.

Perry demanded that the Japanese government send an official to accept the president's letter. The letter requested trade between the two nations, good treatment of shipwrecked sailors, and



permission for U.S. ships to buy supplies. After delivering the letter, Perry announced that he would return the following year.

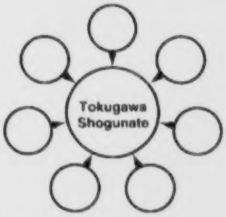
When Perry returned in 1854, his superior military power forced the *shōgun* into signing a treaty that opened two ports to the United States and permitted an American consul to set up an office just south of Edo. Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Russia soon followed with their own treaties.

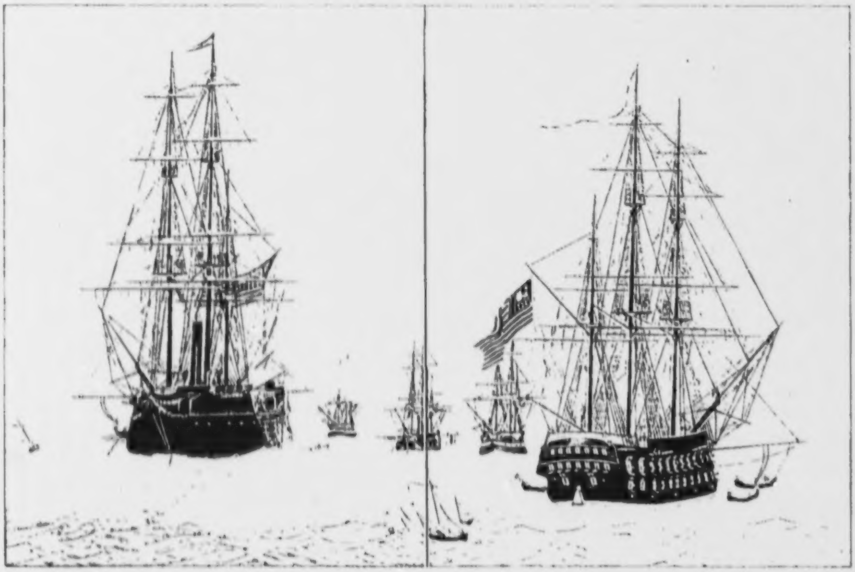
Two years later, the West forced Japan to sign more treaties, alarming and infuriating some influential *daimyō*, because these treaties not only opened more ports to Western countries but also gave Westerners substantial privileges in Japan. (See Chapter 1, Section 2, for further discussion of these treaties.) These unequal treaties, as they were called, set the stage for the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate.

Activity: Circles and Symbols

To do this activity, refer to the readings "The Breakdown of Tokugawa Control" and "Japan and the West." You will need loose-leaf paper, chart paper, and water-based colored markers.

1. On a sheet of loose-leaf paper, list the forces that contributed to the downfall of the Tokugawa government.
2. Turn the paper over, draw a circle in the center, and label it "Tokugawa Shogunate." Draw circles surrounding the center circle, with each circle having an arrow pointing to the center





Commodore Perry's ships anchored at Uraga harbor. Note the red stripe around Perry's flagship Powhattan *on the left. Artist unknown, 1854. Courtesy of Historiographical Institute, The University of Tōkyō.*

circle. You will need as many circles as the number of "forces" you list. This is your brainstorming sketch sheet.

3. Consider possible simple symbols you might use to depict each "force" and draw the symbol in the circle. You may write a few key words next to your symbols. You need not be an artist to do this activity.
4. When you are satisfied with your ideas, make a larger graphic representation on a sheet of chart paper, using colors to bring out your symbols and key words.
5. Make a legend to identify your symbols, and write a title for your creation.

Extension Activities

1. Listen to *The Rise of Modern Japan: Musical Selections,* the CD that accompanies this book. The CD includes two pieces appropriate to this first section of Chapter 1. *Hanna Shingyō* ("Heart Sutra") is a well-known sutra used in Jōdo and Zen Buddhism. *Reihō* is a classical Zen Buddhist piece that features the vertical bamboo flute called the *shakuhachi.*
2. From the mid-1500s and for some decades thereafter, Catholic missionaries from Europe converted about 300,000 Japanese to Christianity. While at first the missionaries were welcomed in Japan, the ruler Hideyoshi later saw them as a threat to his power and executed them. The Tokugawa shogunate continued the policy of forbidding the spread and practice of Christianity, torturing and executing those who refused to renounce their Western religion. You may want to read and make a report on the classic historical novel *Silence*, by Shusaku Endo, translated by William Johnson (Tōkyō: Kodansha International, 1982 [1966]), which delves into this period of Japanese history.
3. You may be interested in viewing the following videos. Part 1 of a two-part series, *The Cross and the Gun* (Lincoln, NE: University of Mid-America, 1978), highlights two important things the Portuguese and other Westerners brought to Japan in the 1500s: Christianity and guns. *The Forty-seven Rōnin* (New York, NY: Sony Video Software, 1988) is based on a popular kabuki play. *Akahige* ("Red Beard"), a feature film directed by Akira Kurosawa in 1965 and starring Toshiro Mifune, tells the story of a young doctor, trained in "Dutch Studies," who begins practicing medicine in a remote village.
4. Many books treat Commodore Matthew Perry's visit to Japan. Highly readable and informative accounts include Rhoda Blumberg's *Commodore Perry in the Land of the Shōgun* (New York, NY: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books, 1985); Arthur Walworth's *Black Ships Off Japan* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946); Pat Barr's *The Coming of the Barbarians* (London: Macmillan, 1967); and *The Japan Expedition 1852–1854: The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry,* Roger Pineau, ed. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968). Select one of these or another of interest to you to report on.

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Section 2

The Meiji Restoration and the Building of Modern Japan

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 was one of the most important events in modern Japanese history. It marked the end of the Tokugawa shogunate and restored ceremonial rule to the emperor. It validated the sweeping political, economic, and social changes begun in the late Tokugawa era.

It was a time when an elite group of former samurai not only consolidated the power of the central government but also initiated an extraordinary program to modernize Japan. It was also a time when leaders labored to help the Japanese people form a sense of themselves as the citizens of a nation—Japan.

The Meiji Restoration

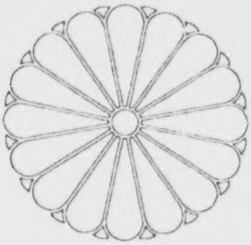
The Meiji Restoration began in 1868 when a group of nobles and samurai loyal to the emperor engineered a palace coup d'état (koo day´tah), a sudden hostile takeover of the government. In this instance, the coup leaders merely announced the end of the Tokugawa government and declared that the emperor was restored to his rightful place as ruler. The new emperor, whose father had died the year before of smallpox, was only fifteen at the time. He adopted the name Meiji, or "enlightened rule." Because he was so young, many of the early edicts issued in his name were the work of Meiji officials.

Reasons for the Restoration

The samurai from Chōshū and Satsuma who masterminded the coup that restored the emperor to the Chrysanthemum Throne were motivated by a fierce determination to rid Japan of the unequal treaties imposed in the 1850s in the wake of Commodore Perry's visits. The first of these treaties, signed in 1854 with the United States, became the model for later treaties with other countries. Japanese officials considered these treaties unequal for three reasons. First, they deprived Japan of the right to set the tariff or tax rates on imported goods. Second, they gave extraterritorial rights to foreigners. Finally, they included a most-favored-nation clause.

Extraterritoriality is the right of foreign citizens to be judged by the laws of their own country rather than the laws of the country in which they are living. The Japanese government had almost no legal control over foreigners living in Japan. Foreigners accused of a crime were turned over to representatives of their own government, who then decided what to do with them. This

This photograph of the Meiji emperor was taken in 1872 when he was about twenty years old. He was not photographed again until 1889. Courtesy of Pennwick Publishing, Inc., New York.



The sixteen-petal chrysanthemum was officially adopted as the imperial crest in 1889, during the Meiji era, although its use predates that time. "Chrysanthemum Throne" refers to this crest, which still serves as the imperial crest or mon.

immunity to Japanese law gave foreigners a privileged legal position in Japan.

The most-favored-nation clause stated that if Japan were to give treaty rights or privileges to one country, those same rights and privileges would be granted to a country that had made an earlier treaty with Japan. For example, the Treaty of Peace and Amity (friendship) that Japan signed with the United States in 1854 contained a most-favored-nation clause, guaranteeing that when Japan made a treaty with Britain a few months later, any rights and privileges granted to Britain were automatically granted to the United States as well. Of course, Britain would then want a most-favored-nation clause in its treaty too. So when treaties were made with other countries, Britain got all the rights and privileges those countries got, and as a result of the 1854 treaty, so did the United States.

Activity: Pairing Off

Your teacher will divide the class into pairs. One person will be responsible for explaining extraterritoriality to his or her partner. The other person will explain the most-favored-nation clause.

1. Write your assigned term and its definition on paper.
2. Look up your term in a reference source and record any information that will help your partner understand what the term means.
3. Exchange papers with your partner and read the information given to you.
4. On your partner's paper, write any questions you may have and return it to your partner.
5. Find the answers to the questions your partner asks you, again using references such as an encyclopedia or on-line source, and record them on your paper.
6. Bring your paper to class. It should have the term you were originally assigned and your notes, your partner's questions, and your responses to those questions.
7. As a class, discuss the ideas of extraterritoriality and most favored nation. As you listen, jot down additional information that you learn on your paper.
8. Exchange papers with your partner again. (You should now have your partner's paper.)
9. Use the information on your partner's paper to complete the appropriate statement below:

Meiji leaders wanted the extraterritoriality provision removed from the treaties they had negotiated with foreigners because . . .

OR

Meiji leaders wanted the most-favored-nation clause removed from the treaties they had negotiated with foreigners because . . .

"Enrich the Nation, Strengthen the Army"

The leaders of the Meiji Restoration well knew that Japan lagged behind Western nations in military strength and economic progress. They also knew what had happened to China, another technologically undeveloped country that had been forced to accept unequal treaties after it was defeated by the British in the Opium War in the 1840s. The early Meiji leaders therefore quickly initiated a campaign to modernize Japan. But they were determined that Japan not lose its unique cultural identity. Their campaign to allow Japan to accept Western ideas and technology, and simultaneously provide it with the means to hold the West at bay, was summed up in the slogan *fukoku kyōhei* or "enrich the nation, strengthen the army."

The main points of the campaign to enrich the nation and strengthen the army were to make Japan a strong, unified state, to establish a modern, conscript-based army, and to modernize Japanese industry, transportation, and agriculture through science and technology.

A Centralized Government

The Meiji leaders understood that a strong, united Japan could not co-exist alongside the mini-states of the Tokugawa era. Although the *daimyō* had submitted outwardly to the shogun, they had jealously guarded their independence. The Meiji era leaders ruthlessly suppressed this old feudal order, demanding that all government directives come from one person and one place: the emperor in Tōkyō. In fact, they officially shifted the capital from Kyōtō to Edo and renamed it Tōkyō. The emperor took up residence there in 1869.

At first the *daimyō* became the governors of their old domains. But in 1871 the domains were abolished and replaced with prefectures, and officials were sent from Tōkyō to govern them. The *daimyō* did not protest because the central government assumed the debts of the old domains and promised stipends and noble status to the *daimyō*.

The samurai also lost their privileged status. No longer able to support themselves as soldiers in the private armies of the *daimyō*, the samurai had to depend on the new central government for support. Initially the Meiji government paid them pensions, but when the cost became a drain on the government's finances, the amounts were cut. Later these pensions were changed into a one-time grant of interest-bearing government bonds. Besides losing their livelihoods, the samurai lost many of their customary rights. For example, they were forbidden to wear swords, and they could no longer attack and kill commoners they deemed disrespectful. Some of the privileges the samurai had previously enjoyed were extended to peasants, artisans, and merchants as the government tried to change the social class system, using the slogan "the equality of all under one ruler." The *heimin*, or commoners, were allowed for the first time to take family names or surnames, to choose their own occupations and places of residence, and to travel on horseback. And in another attempt to make all of its citizens equals, at least in theory, the Meiji government banned legal discrimination against the lowest members of society, the outcasts or *burakumin*. (See Chapter 3, Section 3, for information on the status of the *burakumin* today.)

Activity: What is Nationalism?

Part I: At Home

The word *nationalism* has taken on many implications, positive and negative. Here are three definitions from the *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. As you read the definitions, remember that a nation does not have to be a country; it can be a group of people united by common language, culture, religion, practices, and beliefs.

> **nationalism** 1) devotion to the interests or culture of a particular nation. 2) the belief that nations will benefit from acting independently rather than collectively, emphasizing national rather than international goals. 3) aspirations for national independence in a country under foreign domination.

1. Choose one of the meanings given for nationalism here and write it down.
2. Choose a historical or current event that exemplifies the meaning of nationalism you chose. You will need to consult a history book or a newspaper or news magazine.
3. Explain briefly in writing the historical or current event you chose. Then explain, in writing, why your historical or current event is a good example of the definition of nationalism you selected.
4. Bring this written assignment to class.

Part II: At School

Your teacher will divide you into fours. Discuss the following questions with your group members. Record your group's responses for sharing with the class.

1. Take turns discussing what the word *nationalism* means to you. Does everyone agree with the dictionary definitions given here? If not, what should be added to or deleted from the definitions? Give reasons for any changes you make.

Shintō, The Way of the Gods

Shintō, or the way of the gods, is Japan's traditional religion. It is an ancient religion, its roots lost in antiquity, that has persisted until today. Shintō has no historical founder, sacred scriptures, or holy books. It has no moral or ethical code to instruct its followers in right and wrong. At its heart, Shintō is an animistic religion. Animism is the belief that all natural phenomena have souls. Shintō is grounded in the worship of nature, believed to be inhabited by many gods or spirits called *kami.* All kinds of natural phenomena—the sun, trees and flowers, rivers and oceans, mountains and volcanoes, certain animals, and in some instances even stones—are objects of veneration.

Among *kami* are the souls of great people, such as warriors and heroes, and the ancestral spirits of particular families or villages or clans. Thus Shintō includes both nature worship and ancestor worship.

Kami are thought to reside at specific shrines erected in their honor, and Shintō

The Itsukushima Shrine on the island of Miyajima near Hiroshima is one of Japan's most famous Shintō shrines. Like all Shintō shrines, it is marked by a gate or torii, *such as the dramatic one shown here, which separates the sacred space of the shrine from the outside world.*

2. Take turns sharing your examples of nationalism with the group. Decide whether each example fits one of the dictionary definitions. If the group concludes that an example does not fit, explain why not. Is the problem with the example or with the definitions? If you think there is a problem with the definitions, what might this imply about how the word has been or is being used in print or in other media such as television?
3. Choose a country you know something about. Is there any object (flag, constitution, sacred book) that citizens of that country are expected to respect?
   Is there any one person (monarch, president, prime minister, religious figure) that all are expected to respect? How are people supposed to show their respect for such objects and people? Is there any penalty for not showing respect or for being outright disrespectful? How do children first learn what symbols or individuals are important to their country or society? Is it important that they do so? Why or why not?
4. How important do you think symbols are in fostering a country's or society's sense of nationalism? Explain your response. Give two examples of symbols that have come to be associated, for good or ill, with nationalism.
5. Is there a difference between nationalism and patriotism—love of country? Between nationalism and ultranationalism? Explain your responses.

rituals are carried out at such shrines. Many rituals are linked to major events of the life cycle, such as birth and marriage; others celebrate special days, such as New Year's or traditional festivals called *matsuri*.

Shintō shrines are scattered throughout Japan, in small villages and neighborhoods and on metropolitan Tōkyō's bustling streets. But there are also shrines of national importance, including the Grand Shrine of Ise, which honors the sun goddess Amaterasu, believed to be the ancestor of the royal family, and the Yasukuni Shrine in Tōkyō, established in 1869 to honor the souls of men killed in battle.

Buddhism is thought to have come to Japan in the sixth century. Buddhism and Shintō coexisted, each incorporating some beliefs and rituals from the other. By the middle of the thirteenth century, Buddhism was a part of daily life for most Japanese, with new sects popularizing the religion and opening the path of enlightenment to all.

During the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) Buddhism lost ground to Confucianism. But during the Meiji Restoration, Shintō again became preeminent. Nationalists, who decried the mounting Western influence in Japan, saw Shintō as a unique source of Japanese identity. They advocated establishing what came to be called State Shintō, a belief system that emphasized the divinity of the emperor. Although people still practiced their own Shintō rituals at home (household Shintō) and at shrines (shrine Shintō), State Shintō, supported by public funds, became a unifying force, a religion common to all the people of Japan.

Until the end of the Pacific War, State Shintō became increasingly identified with nationalism, militarism, and emperor worship. Then, under the occupation, American officials established the principle of separation of church and state. State Shintō was abolished, and national Shintō shrines were no longer allowed to receive public funds. Despite these changes, Shintō continues to be a vital force in Japanese life. Today millions of people continue to take part in its rituals and festivals and to make pilgrimages to its most important national shrines.

6. You have been asked to design a flag for a new nation. List the ideas you would consider in designing such a flag.

Part III: At School

Share the results of the your group's discussion with your classmates. Work together as a class to devise a working definition of nationalism. Record this definition in your notes for future reference.

Nationalism in Early Meiji Japan

Meiji leaders believed that the Japanese people, who had lived for so long under the *daimyō*-controlled system of small domains, ought to gain a sense of themselves as one people and one nation. So they set about cultivating a sense of nationhood, trying to help the Japanese people learn to appreciate their own political, social, economic, and cultural characteristics. This appreciation heightened the people's sense of their uniqueness and united them against outside forces that threatened their distinct identity.

Meiji leaders created an array of symbols to bind the people together as a nation and to reinforce their perception of themselves as unique. The most important symbol, of course, was the emperor, believed to be descended from the sun goddess. Loyalty to him was a citizen's most important duty. Beliefs about the divinity of the emperor and his subjects' obligations to him were systematized in a state religion that came to be called State Shintō.

Young samurai from Satsuma who overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate, taken by photographer Felix Beato ca. 1860s. Note that the figures on the right wear Western-style uniforms along with the traditional topknot and the two swords that only samurai were allowed to carry. Courtesy of Archive Photos, New York.

This political religion offered the Japanese people common beliefs and rituals beyond their religious beliefs. Besides the emperor himself, other nationalist symbols created during the Meiji era included the national anthem, "Kimi ga Yo" or "The Imperial Reign" and the *hinomaru* or rising-sun flag.

Japan was not alone in attempting to create a unified nation. Some of the young Meiji leaders were inspired by Otto von Bismarck, a Prussian statesman who, through war and diplomacy, unified Germany in 1871.

Questions

1. What did nationalism mean in the early years of the Meiji Restoration?
2. Retrieve the working definition of nationalism you devised with your classmates. Does nationalism by your definition differ from nationalism in Japan during the early Meiji period? If so, how?

A Strong Army

In the 1870s the samurai's centuries-old military role was transferred to a conscripted army. All able-bodied young men had to serve in the military for three years, followed by four years in the reserves. But heads of households, first sons, and students were exempted, and for a few years it was even possible to buy an exemption for 270 yen. As a result, many of the draftees came from farm families or poor urban families. Still, Japan's conscript army succeeded in bringing together men of all social classes from all over the country for the first time. This mix reduced regional differences and rivalries somewhat, and it helped the new soldiers gain a sense of belonging to something larger than themselves, the nation of Japan.

These new recruits were reminded in the "Soldier's Rules" that "the army is established for executing the will of the Emperor, to strengthen the foundation of the country and to protect the people and the nation. Thus, those who become soldiers must make loyalty to the Emperor their guiding principle."

Army discipline was strict, and recruits were punished severely for minor infractions. But, especially for farm boys, army food was usually better than food they got at home. The first recruits went through basic training wearing their narrow-sleeved kimono and loose-fitting trousers. They wore their hair in the traditional topknot and carried swords tucked in their obi, or sashes. By the mid-1870s uniforms were required, and by 1886

Members of Japan's conscript army in French uniforms, ca. 1870s. Courtesy of Archive Photos, New York.

everyone wore blue uniforms in winter and white ones in summer, with the insignia of their rank on the sleeves or shoulders of the jacket.

The Japanese army was first organized on the French model, and French instructors came to Japan to train the cavalry (troops on horseback), the artillery (troops who handled large mounted weapons such as cannons), and the infantry (foot soldiers). Later, when the government decided to switch to the German army model, instructors from Prussia, at that time Germany's most powerful state, were hired by the Japanese government to teach military strategy.

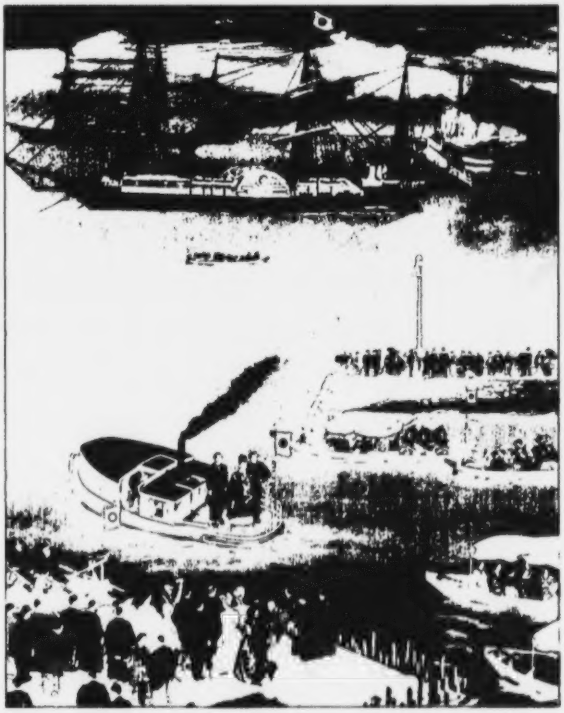
Questions

1. List three ways the establishment of a conscript army contributed to Japanese nationalism in the early Meiji period.
2. Some former samurai joined the imperial army as officers. Speculate on how their backgrounds might have affected the way they believed Japanese soldiers should behave. (You may have to review Chapter 1, Section 1, to respond to this question.)

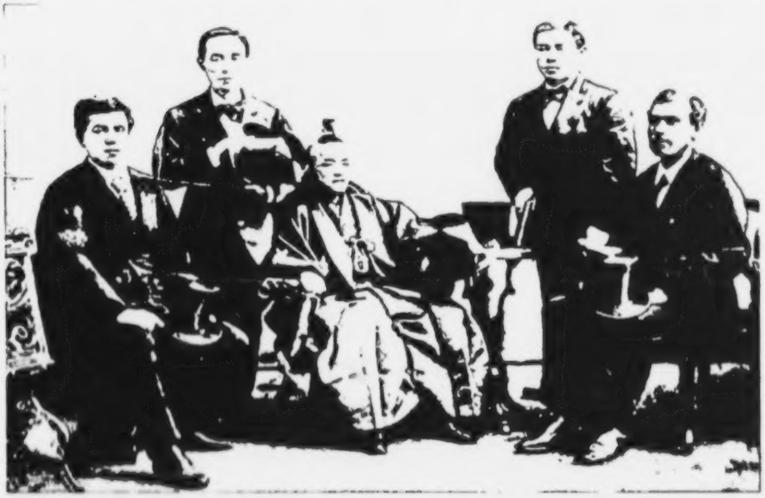
Activity: Image Analysis

The image reproduced here is a Western-style oil painting created by the artist Yamaguchi Hoshun in 1934. Analyze the image using the steps below. Save your work; you will need it to complete this activity later.

1. Look at the image carefully for two minutes to form an overall impression.



Oil painting by Yamaguchi Hoshun, ca. 1934. Courtesy of Meiji Jingu Shotoku Kaigakan, Tōkyō.



Five members of the Iwakura Mission. From left: Kido Takayoshi, Yamaguchi Naoyoshi, Iwakura Tomomi, Itō Hirobumi, and Ōkubo Toshimichi. From Unexpected Destinations: The Poignant Story of Japan's First Vassar Graduate. *New York: Kodansha International, 1993, p. 113.*

2. Divide the image into quadrants in your mind's eye and study each quadrant to see what new details become visible.
3. List the people, objects, and activities in the image.
4. From what you observe, list three things you might infer from the image.
5. What questions does the image raise in your mind? List them.
6. Write a tentative title for the image.

The Iwakura Mission

On a December morning in 1871 a delegation of over fifty of Japan's top government officials sailed from Yokohama for an extended trip to the United States and Europe. It was led by Iwakura Tomomi, the second-highest official in the Meiji government, along with Ōkubo Toshimichi and Kido Takayoshi, leaders of the coalition that overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate, and Itō Hirobumi, who would supervise the drafting of Japan's first constitution. (In Yamaguchi's painting, Iwakura can be seen in full court dress on the fantail of the launch that took him, Ōkubo, and Kido to their ship out in Tōkyō Bay.) The primary purpose of the Iwakura Mission was to lay the groundwork for renegotiating the unequal treaties. It was also charged with learning about Western ideas and institutions with a view to adopting those that might be useful to Japan.

The mission sailed to San Francisco and then traveled to Washington, D.C., by train. The members did not always travel together. Rather, some went off to visit schools or factories or railroads while others were negotiating with American officials. The treaty talks did not go well. Two of the Japanese officials had to return to Japan to get permission to enter into full negotiations on the treaty. But even when they returned to Washington two months later with the needed authority, the talks floundered. In the meantime, however, other members of the mission visited hospitals, universities, museums, and government offices in Washington, D.C., New York City, and Boston.

After four months in the United States, the mission sailed from Boston for Britain. Again, the Japanese observed every aspect of life in the West that they could. They visited factories and industrial plants, schools and libraries, and even prisons, police stations, and law courts. They inspected shipyards, railroads, and iron and steel mills. When their efforts to revise the treaties failed in Great Britain, some of the members moved on to France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Russia. Wherever they went, the members of the Iwakura Mission impressed everyone who met them with their insatiable desire to learn about the West—its banking and transportation systems, its mining and agriculture, its industries and military weapons.

On their way home, some members of the mission traveled via Bombay, Colombo, Singapore, Saigon, and Hong Kong—all places under Western domination where foreigners seemed rich and healthy, Asians poor and oppressed. Ultimately the members of the Iwakura Mission returned home convinced that Japan must undertake a program of steady reform and that it could not resist the changes taking place in Japan. From what they had seen, they also believed that there was a ranking of nations, with Western nations at the top and Asian nations at the bottom. Only by looking out for its own interests and using the knowledge gained abroad, they decided, could Japan move up in this ranking of nations.

When the Iwakura Mission sailed out of Tōkyō Bay that morning in December 1871, with them were about fifty young Japanese being sent to study in industrialized countries of the West. Although Japanese male students had studied in the West under the Tokugawa government, the Iwakura Mission included five girls. The oldest was fourteen, the youngest six; none spoke English. The girls left Japan wearing the long-sleeved kimono proper for unmarried women, escorted by Mrs. Charles Delong, the wife of the American minister. The youngest girl, Tsuda Umeko, wore a red kimono. Her aunt overheard someone in the crowd whisper, "What heartless people their parents must be! Sending them to a barbarous land like America!"

For eleven years Tsuda Umeko lived in Washington, D.C., with an American family, who loved her as their own daughter and whom she loved in return. When she returned to Japan as an eighteen-year-old she could no longer speak Japanese. She was shocked at the low status of women in Japan. Finally, after further study in the United States at Bryn Mawr College, she again went back home and established Japan's first women's college, known today as Tsuda University.

Throughout the Meiji era, the Japanese government continued to send students to study abroad. Over time, some of these students replaced the foreign experts, called *yatoi,* that the Japanese government employed during the early Meiji period to speed modernization in Japan.

Nagai Shigeko, Ueda Teiko, Yoshimasu Ryoko, Tsuda Umeko, and Yamakawa Sutematsu, Washington, D.C., 1872. Courtesy of Ishiguro Collection, Tōkyō.

Questions

1. The Iwakura Mission failed to meet its primary goal, to revise the unequal treaties. Would you characterize the mission as a failure? Why or why not? Give reasons for your response.
2. Many high-ranking government officials were members of the Iwakura Mission. When they sailed from Japan, they left the government in the hands of other officials, who promised to keep the country functioning and to make no major changes in their absence. Do you think that government leaders today would leave their countries in the hands of a "caretaker government " for an extended time? Why or why not?

Activity: Image Analysis, continued

You now have more information about the event portrayed in the image you analyzed earlier.

Yatoi Licence for William Elliot Griffis

(Foreign Ministry Records Bureau, Tokyo: Gaikokujin yatoimenjō hikae and for explanation of the last sentence: Gaikokujin yatoiire kagami)

Record No. 38
Science and Chemistry Instructor
American, William E. Griffis
27 years of age
Salary: 300 *gen* [yen] per month
Employment Term: Meiji 3/12/6 to Meiji 5/12/5, three-year period.
Place of Employment: Yokohama
This person hired by request of Fukui han.
Meiji 3/12, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
This foreigner during employment, etc.

This last sentence is a standard abbreviation for the following:

> This foreigner during employment is to be treated the same as a Japanese and may travel in the interior without hindrance. Moreover both the foreign employee and Japanese are to honor strictly the articles of contract and when the employee is released, this licence is to be returned.

(This licence for Griffis also had a marginal notation: "On Meiji 5/1/10, licence returned, Ministry of Education employment." It had been recalled for reissue because it was worn.)

William Elliot Griffis taught science in Japan from 1871 to 1874. Reprinted with permission of the publishers from Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan *by H. J. Jones, © University of British Columbia Press, 1980. All rights reserved by the publisher.*

Questions

1. What event does the image portray?
2. What can you infer about the event from the image? Were your earlier inferences correct?
3. Identify two people in the image by name.
4. What unanswered questions does the image still raise in your mind? Where might you find the answers to those questions?
5. Give the image a title.
6. How might this image differ from a historical photograph depicting this event? Which do you consider more accurate? Why?

The *Yatoi*

The Meiji government wanted to apply modern science and technology to Japanese industry, transportation, and agriculture. They saw that they needed what we today call technical assistance, so they hired foreign experts to provide it. Although some foreigners had worked in Japan during the Tokugawa era, their numbers shot up during the Meiji period. These experts were called *yatoi*, for government-hired foreign employees. But the word literally meant "hired menial." As the word suggests, the Japanese were ambivalent about the many foreigners being hired from all over the world to help make Japan a modern nation. The Japanese government kept detailed records about the foreign experts, who worked in every government department and in many private industries. Some worked in the mint; others helped revise Japan's legal codes. Still others were doctors and teachers. Engineers came to help Japan install a modern communication system and upgrade its railroads. A substantial number of *yatoi* helped open up the northern island of Hokkaidō—a frontier area where the government offered homesteads to former samurai and others willing to go there and farm.

The cost of paying foreign assistants strained the resources of the Meiji government. Salaries for the *yatoi* far outstripped what an ordinary Japanese worker could earn and were often higher than salaries of government officials. Indeed, many *yatoi* enjoyed a standard of living in Japan they could not have afforded in their home countries. Furthermore, the cultural clash caused by the presence of so many foreigners, especially in the cities, strained the goodwill of both government and the foreigners.

Both Japanese and *yatoi* struggled with language. Because few Japanese spoke English or any other foreign language, and even fewer *yatoi* spoke Japanese, both groups had to depend on translators, a slow and tedious way of communicating, full of potential for misunderstanding.

Sometimes foreigners became annoyed when the Japanese would not obey them or grant their requests. An early Dutch naval commander, for example, complained about young samurai who refused to swab decks or do other manual labor. Later, some *yatoi* found lower Japanese bureaucrats who shrugged off their demands with an "it-can't-be-helped" attitude particularly infuriating.

In turn, the Japanese often saw the *yatoi* as demanding or overbearing. Sometimes it required all the skills that Japanese government officials could muster to keep both foreigners and their Japanese colleagues happy, especially when *yatoi* complained to their home government, usually an in-country official, when they had a dispute with their Japanese employers. Of course, some disagreements had nothing to do with workers or *yatoi* themselves but were the fallout of political difficulties between the two governments, such as Japan's struggle to revise the unequal treaties.

The Japanese government did not want the *yatoi* as a permanent workforce. It wanted Japanese citizens to replace the *yatoi* as soon as was practical. The government therefore continued to send its students abroad or to Japanese universities for training and insisted that the *yatoi* train their Japanese counterparts in the workplace.

The Expansion of Industry

During the Meiji period, the government, big businesses, and traditional small-scale businesses laid the building blocks for industrial growth. Although most Japanese still lived in rural areas and the nation's economy depended on agriculture for money, the government made substantial progress in building and supporting the kinds of factories, machinery, and plants needed to transform Japan into a modern manufacturing country. The textile industry, for example, which employed thousands of young country girls, grew so quickly that raw silk—silk that had been reeled into thread—soon became one of Japan's major exports. By 1883 the Ōsaka Spinning Mills, which produced cotton, were working twenty-four hours a day, using steam power to run some 10,000 spindles and electricity to supply lighting.

The government showed its determination to modernize and "enrich the nation" by supporting large industries. Although the state owned few businesses, it considered certain industries essential to the national interest. Therefore it assisted private companies by setting up factories and plants, giving them financial assistance, and protecting them from foreign competition. The government, for example, was heavily invested in building railroads. At first it assisted private companies in constructing train lines, but when the railroad companies encountered financial difficulties, the government nationalized the industry. That is, it assumed ownership of the railroads. In a somewhat different way, it financed ocean transportation by turning over government-owned ships to a large company, Mitsubishi, and then subsidizing the company to compete with foreign shipping companies. In some instances, the government owned and operated heavy industries, such as shipbuilding and mining, although it turned over some of these enterprises to private businesses. But the government itself maintained control over key arsenals, dockyards, machine shops, and clothing plants that supplied uniforms to the army.

The government's support of specific industries, along with the protection it offered them from foreign competition, meant that some companies quickly became oligopolies—clusters of companies, each dominating specific industries. These favored companies were then able to diversify and expand into other fields. Soon they were able to dominate the economy and reap huge profits. These financial combines were called *zaibatsu*. Although each *zaibatsu* ran a variety of businesses, certain *zaibatsu* soon became identified with specific enterprises, such as shipping (Mitsubishi), retail stores (Mitsui), copper mining (Sumitōmo), and banking (Yasuda). These giant industrial conglomerates, all profiting from the Meiji government's patronage, dominated Japan's economy until the end of the Pacific War in 1945.

Question

How might the changes during the later Meiji era, such as the establishment of railroads, telegraph and telephone systems, and a postal system, have contributed to Japanese nationalism?

"Civilization and Enlightenment"

While Meiji leaders concentrated on modernizing Japan by adapting Western science and technology, many Japanese city-dwellers embraced other aspects of Western culture, including new foods and fashions, newspapers, foreign loanwords, and a whole variety of things, such as watches and umbrellas, that became symbols of what the Japanese called *bunmei kaika* or "civilization and enlightenment."

Japanese women with traditional hairstyles, ca. 1870s, applying make-up. The woman on the left appears to be blackening her teeth, or perhaps applying lipstick. Courtesy of Pennwick Publishing, Inc., New York.

Hats and umbrellas were among the first Western-style items adopted by the Japanese because they were relatively inexpensive. Courtesy of Ukiyo-e Books, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Fads and Fashions

Westernization had a marked impact on clothing and appearance. After the emperor had his topknot cut off in 1873, many Japanese men followed his example and adopted Western hairstyles. Some men mixed traditional Japanese clothing with Western imports. For example, some wore hats with their kimono or tied up the trousers of their Western suits with an *obi* or Japanese sash. Many men wore traditional wooden clogs (*geta*) or straw sandals with their Western clothing—a sensible choice because they were easy to slip off and on in a place where people removed footwear before entering homes. Leather shoes were saved for more formal occasions.

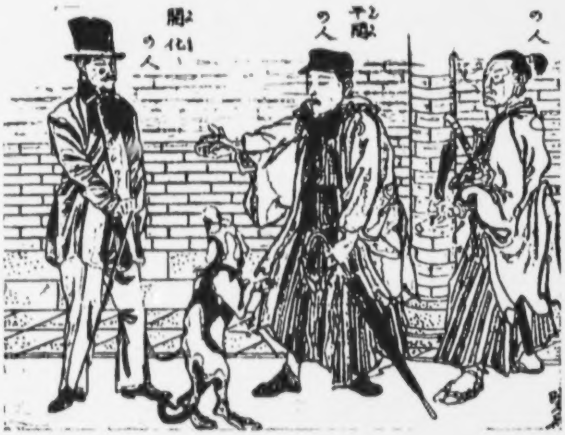
Women were slower to adopt Western clothing. Compared with everyday kimono, Western dresses were expensive and complicated to sew. Japanese women were in no rush to abandon older hairstyles; Western hairdos did not become common until after 1890.

But other changes came much sooner. After the empress stopped blackening her teeth and shaving her eyebrows in 1873, other married women followed her example. (The custom disappeared much more slowly among peasants.) Western cosmetics such as face powder and lipstick became more common in the cities, used for everyday occasions rather than just for religious ceremonies and festivals.

For a while, well-to-do Japanese were enamored of Western goods. At first, umbrellas were so rare that people would pose with them in formal photographs—another popular Western innovation. Fashionable gentlemen took pride in their pricey pocket watches and in slipping foreign loanwords into their conversations. Western-style ballroom dancing became so popular that in 1883 the government established an elaborate social hall in Tōkyō called the Rokumeikan, where dances were held every Saturday night, attended by government officials and members of the foreign diplomatic corps. Other activities held there included afternoon tea dances, banquets, concerts, and charity bazaars. The Rokumeikan was envisioned as a cosmopolitan place for upper-class Japanese and foreigners to dine and dance. The government hoped that the social ties forged there would help Japanese diplomats in their frustrating efforts to revise the unequal treaties.

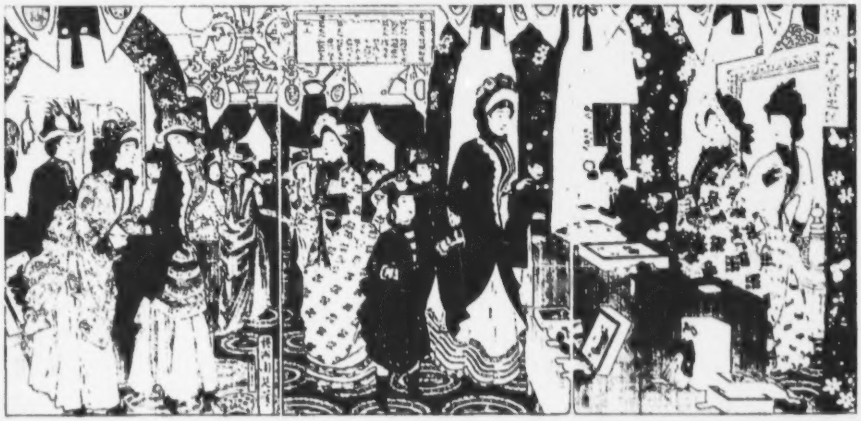
New Foods

Westernization also changed the Japanese diet, again mostly in the cities, among those affluent enough to afford foreign delicacies. Eating meat was a major shift in this society where Buddhists considered killing animals immoral. But with government encouragement, consumption of meat became acceptable, especially if it was prepared using Japanese cooking methods. The popular dish sukiyaki, which includes meat, vegetables, and tofu (bean curd) cooked in soy sauce and sake (Japanese rice wine) dates from this time.


開化の人
半開の人
の人

A print from the 1870s showing the "unenlightened man" in samurai clothing; the "half-enlightened" man in a Western-style cap wearing shoes, carrying an umbrella, and holding a pocketwatch in his right hand; and the "enlightened man" in Western clothing sporting a cane and accompanied by a dog, a pet popular among foreigners. Courtesy of Iwanami Shoten Publishers, Tōkyō.

Of course, not everyone ate meat. Most people could not afford it, others objected to it for religious reasons, and still others, especially rural



"Picture of the Rokumeikan Ladies' Charity Bazaar, October 1887." *Woodblock print by Hashimoto Chikanobu. Courtesy of Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.*

Pack ox wearing straw sandals, ca. 1880, Salem, MA. Courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

people, were deeply attached to their hard-working farm animals and would never consider eating them. As one man explained:

> I was born in a farm house, and I worked as a farmer. The family ox was absolutely necessary for plowing, and we loved him as one of ourselves. I followed behind him working, and I made money on his labor. I had so many memories of the animal that I would never have wanted to eat him.

From *Japanese Life and Culture in the Meiji Era*, compiled and edited by Shibuzawa Keizō, translated and adapted by Charles S. Terry. Tōkyō: Ōbunsha, 1958, p. 66.

"The Old and the New"

In her autobiography *A Daughter of the Samurai*, Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto, who was born in 1873, describes the first time her family ate meat.

> I was about eight years old when I had my first taste of meat. For twelve centuries, following the introduction of the Buddhist religion, which forbids the killing of animals, the Japanese people were vegetarians.[1] In late years, however, both belief and custom have changed considerably, and now, though meat is not universally eaten, it can be found in all restaurants and hotels. But when I was a child it was looked upon with horror and loathing.
>
> How well I remember one day when I came home from school and found the entire household wrapped in gloom. I felt a sense of depression as soon as I stepped into the "shoe-off" entrance and heard my mother, in low, solemn tones, giving directions to a maid. A group of servants at the end of the hall seemed excited, but they were also talking in hushed voices. Of course, since I had not yet greeted the family, I did not ask any questions, but I had an uneasy feeling that something was wrong, and it was very hard for me to walk calmly and unhurriedly down the long hall to my grandmother's room.
>
> "Honourable Grandmother, I have returned," I murmured, as I sank to the floor with my usual salutation. She returned my bow with a gentle smile, but she was graver than usual. She and a maid were sitting before the black-and-gold cabinet of the family shrine. They had a large lacquer tray with rolls of white paper on it and the maid was pasting paper over the gilded doors of the shrine.
>
> Like almost every Japanese home, ours had two shrines. In time of sickness or death, the plain wooden Shintō shrine, which honours the Sun Goddess, the Emperor, and the nation, was sealed with white paper to guard it from pollution. But the gilded Buddhist shrine was kept wide open at such a time; for Buddhist gods give comfort to the sorrowing and guide the dead on their heavenward journey. I had never known the gold shrine to be sealed; and besides, this was the very hour for it to be lighted in readiness for the evening meal. That was always the pleasantest part of the day; for after the first helping of our food had been placed on a tiny lacquer table before the shrine, we all seated ourselves at our separate tables, and ate, talked and laughed, feeling that the loving hearts of the ancestors were also with us. But the shrine was closed. What could it mean?
>
> I remember my voice trembled a little as I asked, "Honourable Grandmother, is—is anybody going to die?"
>
> I can see now how she looked—half amused and half shocked.

---

[1] The Japanese did eat fish when they could afford it, and thus were not complete vegetarians. The Buddhist prohibition againt killing animals applied particularly to quadrupeds or four-legged animals.

"Little Etsu-ko," she said, "you talk too freely, like a boy. A girl should never speak with abrupt unceremony."

"Pardon me, Honourable Grandmother," I persisted anxiously; "but is not the shrine being sealed with the pure paper of protection?"

"Yes," she answered with a little sigh, and said nothing more.

I did not speak again but sat watching her bent shoulders as she leaned over, unrolling the paper for the maid.

Presently she straightened up and turned toward me.

"Your honourable father has ordered his household to eat flesh," she said very slowly. "The wise physician who follows the path of the Western barbarians has told him that the flesh of animals will bring strength to his weak body, and also will make the children robust and clever like the people of the Western sea. The ox flesh is to be brought into the house in another hour and our duty is to protect the holy shrine from pollution."

That evening we ate a solemn dinner with meat in our soup; but no friendly spirits were with us, for both shrines were sealed. Grandmother did not join us. She always occupied the seat of honour, and the vacant place looked strange and lonely. That night I asked her why she had not come.

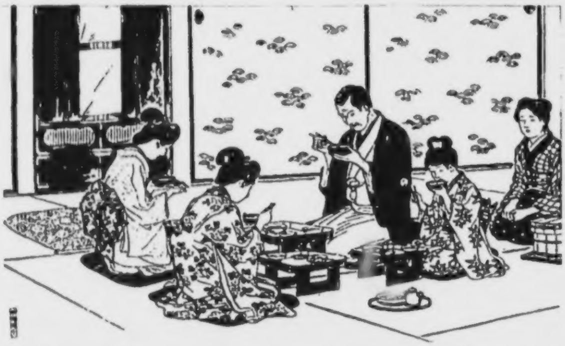
"I would rather not grow as strong as a Westerner—nor as clever," she answered sadly. "It is more becoming for me to follow in the path of our ancestors."

My sister and I confided to each other that we liked the taste of meat. But neither of us mentioned this to anyone else; for we both loved Grandmother, and we knew our disloyalty would sadden her heart.

From *A Daughter of the Samurai*, by Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto. New York, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929, pp. 25–27.

Questions

1. Everyday decisions in Japanese families, that is, decisions about children and running a household, were almost always made by mothers (or mothers-in-law) during the Meiji period. But in this story Etsuko's father ordered the family to eat meat. Why? What does this imply about the father's authority in the household?
2. Why did Etsuko's grandmother refuse to eat meat? Was she the only one in the family who could have refused to do so? Why?
3. What would have happened if Etsuko or her mother or sister refused to eat meat? Would their refusal have been acceptable? Why or why not?



"That evening we ate a solemn dinner with meat in our soup; but no friendly spirits were with us, for the shrine was sealed with the holy paper of protection." Courtesy of A DAUGHTER OF THE SAMURAI by E. I. Sugimoto, copyright 1925, 1928 by Doubleday, a division of Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc. Used by permission of Doubleday, a division of Random House, Inc.

Education During the Meiji Era

The golden age of *bunmei kaika* lasted only about a decade, from 1870 to 1880. Then a conservative reaction set in as nationalist critics began to denounce those they believed had discarded Japanese cultural distinctiveness in a headlong rush to accept the West. They called on the Japanese to boycott—refuse to buy—imported Western goods, insisting that Japanese manufacturers were perfectly capable of producing items that matched the West's in quality and durability. Nationalists' criticism of the Rokumeikan and, more important, the failure of its most prominent sponsors to succeed in renegotiating the unequal treaties, grew so shrill that in 1889 the building was sold. A decade of fascination with foreign ideas, objects, and institutions ended with critics demanding a return to traditional Japanese values.

One of the institutions especially affected by the call to return to traditional Japanese values in the late 1880s was Japan's educational system. During the early years of the Meiji period, in the late 1860s, government leaders moved quickly to expand and reform Japan's schools as part of the modernization effort. However, in the late 1870s and 1880s, as nationalists criticized Japan's uncritical acceptance of Westernization, schools, like other Meiji institutions, became markedly more conservative.

In 1869, only a year after the emperor was restored to the throne, the government ordered that primary schools be established in all prefectures. A ministry of education was established in 1871 to administer education for the entire country. The Japanese government then adopted the French model of organizing schools. It divided the country into eight districts, each to have one university, 32 middle schools, and 210 primary schools. Children from six to ten were to attend lower primary school, and those ten to fourteen were to attend upper primary school. Middle schools (which we would call high schools today) were divided into upper and lower schools also; each had a three-year course of study. At the university, students could study science, literature, law, or medicine.

Subjects taught in lower primary school included reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, science, gymnastics, singing, and, most especially, moral education. In the upper primary school, history, geometry, and chemistry were added. Most of the textbooks were translations of foreign textbooks. Boys far outnumbered girls in schools because most people did not believe that schooling was important for girls.

This ambitious national education system soon proved too costly. The central government expected each prefecture to pay for all its own schools. Prefectural governments in turn demanded that parents, including hard-pressed peasants, pay not only for their own children's schooling but also pay taxes to support other prefectural schools. In some places, parents rebelled by refusing to send their children to school and even by burning down schoolhouses.

The government decided to replace this highly centralized French system with a more decentralized system based on the American model, where communities were responsible for educating their children. Under this system, parents had to support only the school in their own town or village, not all the schools in a prefecture. The length of time children had to go to school was reduced; they were required to attend school between the ages of six and fourteen, but only for a total of sixteen months. Corporal punishment, common in many countries, was abolished, at least in theory. Again, at least in theory, locally elected school boards rather than bureaucrats in faraway Tōkyō managed school affairs. Still, the central government maintained substantial control over schools and what was taught.

In 1878 the emperor himself visited some schools. What he saw distressed him, and he concluded that Westernization had gone too far. He thought students were not getting enough moral education. He issued an imperial rescript, or order, requiring schools to return to traditional Japanese—that is, Confucian—values that stressed loyalty and filial piety. Teachers were reminded that they were responsible for modeling these virtues and teaching them to students. An 1881 Memorandum for Elementary Teachers proclaimed,

> In order to guide people, make them good, give them wide knowledge, and to do this widely, teachers must particularly stress moral education to their pupils. Loyalty to the Imperial House, love of country, filial piety towards parents, respect for superiors, faith in friends, charity towards inferiors, and respect for oneself constitute the great path of human morality. The Teacher must himself be a model of these virtues in his daily life, and must endeavour to stimulate his pupils along the path of virtue.

From Peter N. Stearns, *Schools and Students in Industrial Society: Japan and the West 1870–1940.* Boston, MA: Bedford Books, 1998, p. 122.

Although schools and what they taught became markedly more traditional during the late Meiji era, the number of schools and the kinds of opportunities actually expanded. Attendance at elementary schools increased. More secondary schools were built, and schools were established for girls. Training for teachers was greatly improved.

But even though more children could attend school, what they learned was dictated more and more by the national government. Moral training became the most important subject in the curriculum. The government controlled the content of textbooks and had new textbooks on morality written. Teachers became public servants, forbidden to take part in political activities. Schools became a critical means of teaching Confucianism and nationalism to Japanese youth. Students were told over and over that nothing could be more important for them than sacrificing themselves for Japan and the emperor.

On October 30, 1890, the Meiji emperor promulgated the Imperial Rescript on Education. This decree stated that patriotism and loyalty to the emperor were the highest virtues that people could hold. It also advanced the idea that the state was one family under the emperor.

The rescript was sent to the schools. There, along with the emperor's portrait, the rescript, written on a scroll, became a sacred object to be handled with utmost care. Sometimes it was kept in a small shrine. On ordinary days, students bowed to the portrait of the emperor and recited the rescript in unison. On ceremonial occasions, such as the emperor's birthday, a teacher or principal wearing white gloves removed the scroll from the shrine and read it with extraordinary reverence to the assembled students. There are stories of teachers and principals who committed suicide after accidentally dropping the scroll or making a mistake in reading the rescript. The portrait and the rescript were so important that in case of fire they were to be saved before anything else, even at the cost of human life. "The spirit of reverence for the emperor and patriotism" became the prime purpose of schooling.

This portrait of the emperor, ca. 1889, was distributed to all schools in Japan. From A Century of Japanese Photography *by Japan Photographers Association. New York: Random House, Inc., 1980, p. 96.*

Activity: The Imperial Rescript on Education, October 30, 1890

1. Read the imperial rescript printed below silently until you feel comfortable with the words and phrasing.
2. Your teacher will divide you into pairs. Take turns reading the rescript to each other until you can do so with ease.
3. Your teacher will select students to read the rescript as a dramatic reading. If you are a reader, read with expression. If you are a listener, close your eyes and try to imagine yourself as a student in Meiji Japan, bowing with your class before the emperor's portrait and reciting the rescript in unison.

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all;

pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourself courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with [as old as] heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that We may all thus attain to the same virtue.

October 30, 1890.

From *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, compiled by Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, ©1958, vol. 2, pp. 139–140.

Questions

1. According to the rescript, what are the sources of Japanese education?
2. Why did Japanese students recite the imperial rescript in school every day?
3. The Imperial Rescript on Education is often linked to the evolution of nationalism in Japan. Why? Explain the connection between the rescript and nationalism.
4. Have you ever taken part in rituals at school that might be compared to reciting the imperial rescript? List them.
5. What was or is the purpose of such rituals?
6. How are the rituals you have taken part in at school similar to or different from reciting the imperial rescript?

Activity: Going to School in Meiji Japan

The two excerpts that follow are accounts of student life in Meiji Japan. The first, from a novel based on the author's boyhood, recounts his days in primary school. In the second excerpt, the author describes her life as a high school student in a school for upper-class girls. As you read the excerpts, note how the authors' school experiences were similar and different.

"Primary School"

Tokutomi Kenjirō was born in 1868, the first year of the Meiji era. As a youngster, Kenjirō enjoyed being a rich man's son, a status he lost when his father died. Tokutomi's novel is considered a classic. It was first published in serial form in a Japanese newspaper in 1901.

I went on attending primary school as before. The school was a small thatched building, standing among paddy-fields about half a mile from our cottage. It was not much different from the old temple-schools of feudal times, our valley being so out of the way; though we did have slates, along with old-fashioned fixed ink-slabs. In summer we went to school while it was still dark and practiced writing by candle-light—Morning Penmanship, it was called—while in winter, as there was no heating in the school building, at the beginning of term each of us would carry his own tiny charcoal brazier with him to school, and keep it there till the holidays. That's how primitive things were then. Not only were we remote from the capital; the walls of our valley rose steeply on every side, as if we were living on the bottom of a giant stone bowl. If it was to reach us at all, modern civilization had to sweat its way over the mountain passes in straw sandals—so it was pretty slow in coming, like the doctor who doesn't hurry to a poor patient. As for the Tōkyō newspapers, only one copy penetrated to our town, one single paper for the whole community. The thirty or forty citizens who formed the local "intelligentsia" passed it round among themselves from house to house, with the result that this globe of ours had rolled round sixty times or more before it reached the last reader. . . . Consequently we were not very well up in the way things were going on in the country as a whole. But such was the constant stream of reforms and changes of all kinds in those early years of the Emperor Meiji's reign that even with us there was always a feeling of instability in the air.

Boys in abacus class, ca. 1890. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

At school we were first divided into ten graded classes, then into six, then finally into three—upper, middle, and lower. As a result we found ourselves taking the same examinations over and over again—even in some cases graduating several times over from the same school. We would start off with a Wordbook and a First Geography Reader, but the textbooks would change abruptly two or three times a year, and some of the poorer children had to give up school altogether because they couldn't afford so many books.

I hated arithmetic and calligraphy, but got on splendidly with history, composition, geography, not to mention general mischief, managing to keep at the top of the class in spite of losing marks on my sums and copy-writing. Looking back from this distance, I can see the teacher must have let me off lightly now and then (he was a fine old fellow, short-sighted and devoted to his pipe; he could not have been kinder to me, though everything he taught was wrong. Lenience was his creed, and Masumi, I think, his name—Teacher Masumi, that's it). I can't have done too badly, though. An Inspector from Tōkyō who was visiting schools all over the country praised me when he came to our school (you can't imagine what a heroic figure this visitor from the capital seemed in our eyes—and how Teacher Masumi must have trembled as he took him around!) I was clever, they said, as well as being a rich man's son; and at school I gave myself airs accordingly. . . .

From Tokutomi, Kenjirō, *Footprints in the Snow: A Novel of Meiji Japan*. Translated by Kenneth Strong. New York, NY: Pegasus, © 1970, pp. 59–60.

"High School Years"

In 1877 a school called the Peers' School was founded in Tōkyō. It was attended by the sons of high-ranking nobles, called peers. Peers were often former *daimyō* or other men who had given outstanding service to Japan. The sons of peers were expected to grow up to become Japan's next leaders. As adults they would inherit their fathers' ranks and become princes, or counts, or barons themselves. They were sent to the Peers' School to prepare them for their adult roles. In 1887 a similar school was founded for girls under the patronage of the Empress. Ishimoto Shidzue, a daughter from a wealthy samurai family, began attending the Peeresses' School at five. In this excerpt she describes some of her experiences as a high school student.

At the age of twelve [in 1909], I finished the primary course in the Peeresses' School and entered high school in the same compound, which was supposed to correspond to the boys' middle

Girls in calligraphy class, ca. 1890. Courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

school, In reality there was a distinct difference between the two in the standard and character of learning. Boys were taught and trained to be "great personalities"; girls were first and foremost taught to become obedient wives, good mothers, and loyal guardians of the family system. This discrimination was not calculated to encourage girls to independent thinking. Women were not expected to be pioneers in any enterprise.

The five years' education in the girls' high school was looked upon as the grand finishing course, so few girls remained at school for post-graduate work. Arithmetic, algebra, Euclid, physics, chemistry, national and foreign geography and history were taught, but we were only allowed to peep into the world of science and did not spend much time or energy on any one of the more approved subjects. Japanese literature, both classical and modern, covered the largest part of class assignments, for as a matter of fact well-educated Japanese had to learn at least four or five thousand Chinese ideographs, most of which are pronounced in three or four different ways and written in at least three styles. A vast amount of attention had to be bestowed on these. Besides this strenuous memory work, penmanship, painting, drawing, music, sewing, embroidery, and cooking were taught in both the Western and Japanese manner. The girls were kept quite busy.

Even penmanship for the Japanese is no trifle. A woman cannot marry into a good family if she reveals a sign of low breeding in her handwriting. And men will experience disadvantages in getting positions unless their handwriting is good. . . .

At school, therefore, we spent hours and hours bending over our desks and white sheets of rice paper, in our hands big and small brushes which we dipped in India ink, writing Japanese characters, stroke by stroke, trying to present graceful and dignified ideographs. . . .

Another lesson, rather unpopular among the girls, was ethics. In this class we were taught that loyalty and filial piety are the chief and fundamental morals, that our concern should be directed to expressing our sense of gratitude to the Emperor as obedient subjects, and to parents and ancestors as faithful daughters. At the Peeresses' School, the girls recited these precepts every morning before the lessons, saying, "We girls in the Peeresses' School shall respect the imperial family, and try to be model subjects, loyal to the Emperor and the Empress. . . . "

This ethics class at our school was relied upon for character building. Its substance lay in the Confucian teachings emphasizing loyalty to the ruler and duty to parents. We were brought up to think frequently of our obligations to our elders and to the Emperor. We were taught what "we ought to do and be," but never did we discuss questions of personal freedom and independent thinking or the right to be guided by one's own conscience. A familiar proverb said "Good medicine is bitter to the mouth; so is good advice to naughty ears." Naturally the girls disliked these preachings, pounding again and again on tired ears.

To reinforce these moral obligations, we were given lessons in "manners and etiquette," that we might be disciplined in modesty and reverence. Our school had a separate house, built in pure Japanese style, for instruction in etiquette. It had a mat floor and an alcove in which the essential ornaments were placed. . . . We took off our shoes before we entered the house and sat rigid on the mats. We learned formality of every possible kind, such as wedding and funeral ceremonies in both Buddhist and Shintō styles, the reception of guests, and entertaining or being entertained at table. The complexity of this instruction was such that we had to practice, for instance, sitting and standing positions, and three forms of bowing: to elders, to equals, and to inferiors.

From Baroness Ishimoto Shidzue, *Facing Two Ways.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984, pp. 53–54.

Questions

1. The authors whose writings are excerpted here went to different schools at different times during the Meiji era. Their educational experiences differed. What do you think accounts for these differences? Did they have any common experiences as students?
2. Which aspects of the educational experiences described in these excerpts, if any, seem distinctly Western to you? Which aspects seem to be distinctly Japanese?
3. Even though Tokutomi Kenjirō indicates that change was slow in coming to his isolated village, he also seems to indicate that the people had some sense of the changes taking place in Meiji Japan and were affected by them. How did people learn of these changes?
4. As a young woman Ishimoto Shidzue was married to a baron. Do you think the education she received at the Peeresses' School prepared her for her role as the wife of an important man? Why or why not?
5. Describe an episode from your own experience as a student that is either very similar to or very different from the experiences described here.

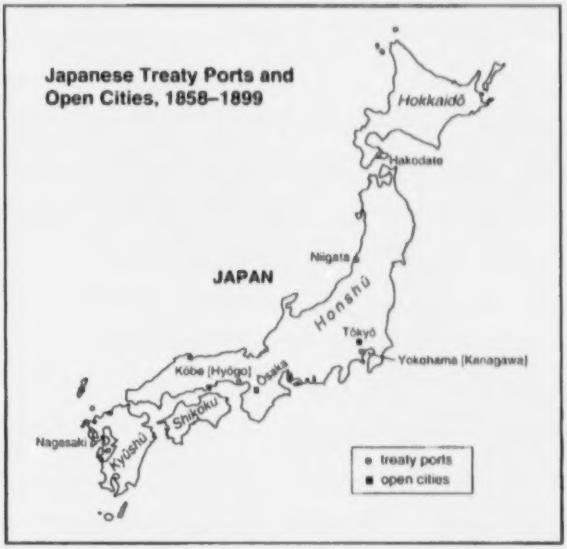
Meiji Japan and the Outside World

The Unequal Treaties

The appearance of Commodore Perry's four "black ships" in Tōkyō Bay in 1853 offered indisputable evidence of how weak Japan was, especially in military strength and technological ability, compared with Western nations. Although Japan escaped the widespread intrusion and intervention that Western powers imposed on China in the nineteenth century, Japan, like China, suffered under the unequal treaties it had signed with the West. Japan was particularly humiliated by the extraterritoriality provisions in the treaties, provisions that allowed Westerners in Japan to be subject to their own nations' laws, not Japan's. The Japanese were also unhappy about the privileges that foreigners living in the treaty ports enjoyed as a result of the unequal treaties.

The Treaty Ports

The unequal treaties Japan signed with the United States and Great Britain in 1858–1859 included the establishment of treaty ports. In theory, the treaty ports allowed Japan to control foreign trade and foreigners, and to some extent they did. Foreigners were allowed to reside only in or near the five treaty ports: Nagasaki, Hakodate, Niigata, Hyōgo [Kōbe], and Kanagawa [Yokohama]. After 1868, foreigners were also allowed to live in Tōkyō and Ōsaka.



Japanese Treaty Ports and Open Cities, 1858–1899

Foreigners in the treaty ports were allowed to lease land and to build factories, warehouses, and homes in the areas, called settlements, reserved for them. The Japanese government built the infrastructure in the settlements, such as roads, sewers, and piers. The land, owned by the government, was not taxed, but the foreigners did pay rent for the ground under their buildings. Originally, foreigners were not allowed to travel more than seventeen miles (later twenty-five miles) from their settlements. The Meiji government set up a complicated system of passports for foreigners who wanted to travel farther from their own settlement.

Each settlement was governed by the laws of its own nation, not the laws of Japan. Thus the French Settlement was under the jurisdiction of an appointed French official, called a consul, and functioned independently of the Japanese government. The same was true of other Western nations, including Great Britain and the United States. In effect, the settlements were a microcosm, a small version, of their home countries, transplanted to Japanese soil. Japanese citizens were not allowed to live in a foreign settlement without permission of the proper consul. Exceptions were made for Japanese who worked for foreigners, such as servants, but they lived in separate quarters.

Over the years, the Japanese grew resentful of the privileges enjoyed by foreigners living in the settlements. Anti-foreign sentiment was particularly fierce in Yokohama, the largest and most successful treaty port. In one instance, foreigners there posted signs on a section of a playing field in the British settlement that said "No dogs" in English and "No Japanese" in Japanese.

Revising the Unequal Treaties

From the time they took over in 1868, Meiji leaders made revising the unequal treaties one of their highest priorities. First, in 1871, the government sent its top leaders to the United States and Europe on the Iwakura Mission to renegotiate the treaties. When their efforts failed, the Japanese government invited all major Western powers to conferences to discuss treaty revisions. When these meetings also fell short, Japan's foreign ministers tried to negotiate with one nation at a time. When this attempt also proved useless, they tried informal secret diplomatic efforts, again to no avail.

Meiji leaders put so much effort into trying to revise the treaties because, like the Japanese public, they resented both the treaties and their inability to change them. Japanese were outraged, for example, in 1879, when the captain of a German ship refused to allow Japan to quarantine his crew, even though many of them had cholera, a dreaded infectious disease. A few years later, in 1886, all twenty-three Japanese passengers aboard a British cargo ship drowned when the vessel sank; every member of the British crew was saved. When the ship's captain was cleared of wrongdoing by a British consular court, the Japanese public howled. In 1889, the press reported that one of the provisions Great Britain demanded in return for other treaty revisions was that foreign judges sit in on cases when one of their own nationals was involved. The Japanese public protested vociferously. A nationalist zealot threw a bomb at the Japanese foreign minister's carriage. The official lost a leg; the entire cabinet was forced to resign. The problems with the unequal treaties dragged on and on.

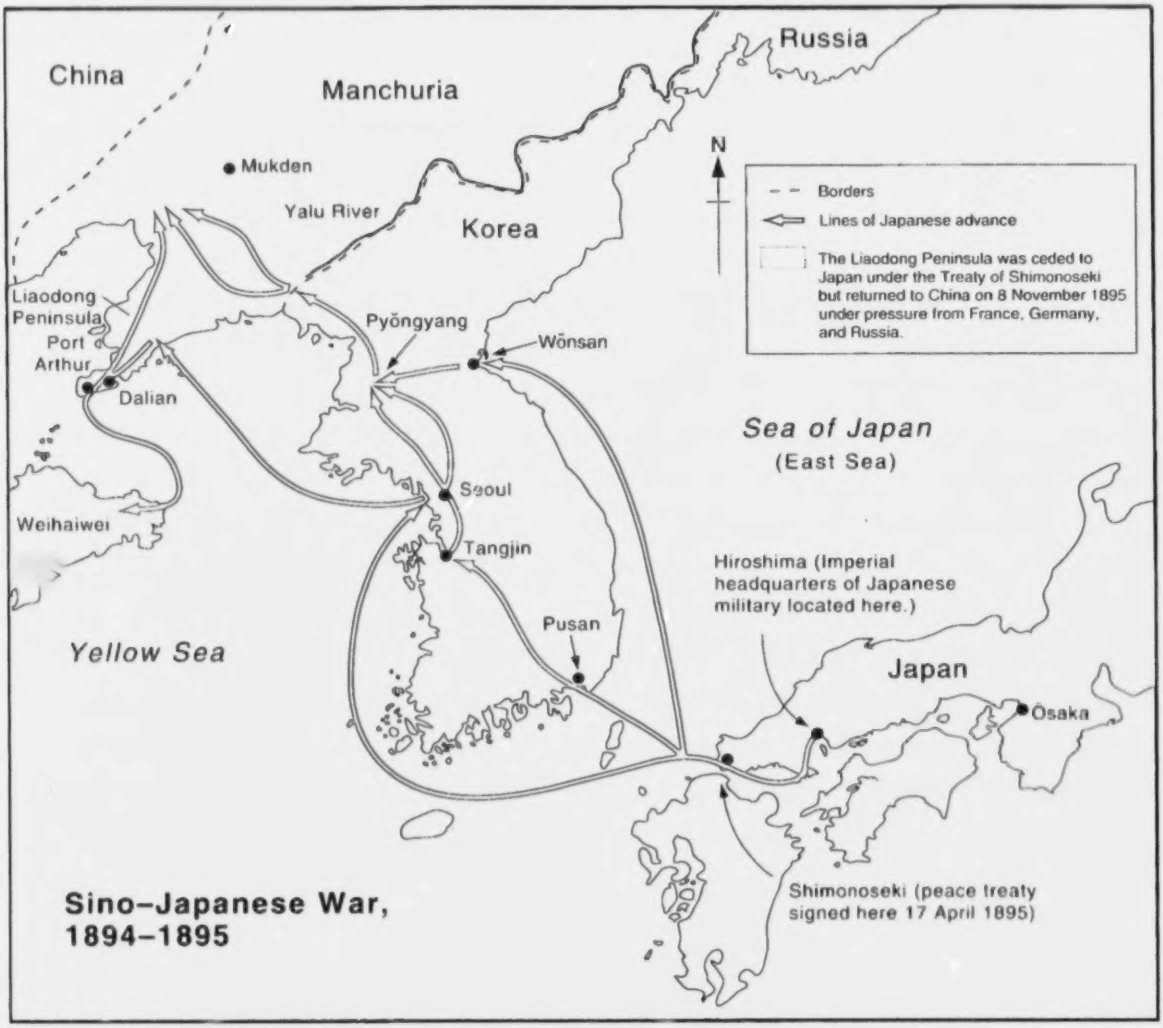
Finally, in an 1894 treaty, the British agreed to give up their extraterritorial rights in Japan, and in the next few years other Western powers followed suit. Although members of the foreign community protested, extraterritoriality and special rights for foreigners officially ended in 1899. But this victory did not relieve all of Japan's grievances over the unequal treaties. Japan did not regain the right to set its own tariffs and terms of trade until 1911.

Japanese Expansionism

Meiji leaders wanted to prove to the West that their nation deserved to be treated as an equal. At home, they pressed adoption of Western science and technology. They also took on a more aggressive stance in foreign relations, particularly with their Asian neighbors. In this strategy, Japan modeled its behavior after the imperialism practiced by many Western powers at the end of the nineteenth century. By that time France was firmly established in Indochina, Indonesia was governed by the Dutch, and Portugal, Spain, Italy, and even tiny Belgium had colonies in Africa. And as the saying went, the sun never set on the British empire, which included places as huge as India and as tiny as Fiji. The United States had colonies too (but they were rarely called colonies) in the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawai'i, and Samoa. By the early twentieth century, Japan would join the West as an imperial power, establishing colonies in Taiwan, Korea, and finally Micronesia.

The First Sino–Japanese War

During the Meiji period, Japan clashed with its Chinese and Russian neighbors for control of


China
Manchuria
Russia
Mukden
Yalu River
Korea
N
Borders
Lines of Japanese advance
The Liaodong Peninsula was ceded to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki but returned to China on 8 November 1895 under pressure from France, Germany, and Russia.
Liaodong Peninsula
Port Arthur
Dalian
Pyŏngyang
Wŏnsan
Sea of Japan
(East Sea)
Seoul
Weihaiwei
Tangjin
Hiroshima (Imperial headquarters of Japanese military located here.)
Pusan
Yellow Sea
Japan
Ōsaka
Shimonoseki (peace treaty signed here 17 April 1895)
Sino–Japanese War, 1894–1895

Adapted and reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press, New York.

Korea. Although Korea had been a source of important features of Japanese culture from early times, the relationship had deteriorated markedly after Japan invaded Korea at the end of the sixteenth century. After that, Korea became known as the Hermit Kingdom, becoming more and more isolated. It viewed Japan with suspicion and distrust. Then in 1876 the Meiji government did the same thing to Korea that the West had done to Japan: It forced an unequal treaty on Korea, establishing treaty ports and allowing Japan to intervene in Korea's domestic affairs.

For Japan, Korea was a buffer protecting it from China and Russia. But it was also seen as a dagger pointing at Japan's heart. In the mid-1890s Meiji leaders decided it would be to Japan's benefit, for economic and security reasons, to meddle in Korea's internal affairs. And Japan's increasingly modern armed forces gave them the means to do so with impunity. Japan's interest in Korea, however, brought it into conflict with China, which considered Korea part of its cultural and political orbit.

In 1894 domestic unrest in Korea gave both Japan and China an excuse to send troops to Korea.

Soon both China and Japan were involved in the first Sino–Japanese War.[2] The Japanese forces quickly showed their mastery of military organization and technology. Although they were vastly outnumbered, they drove the Chinese troops out of Korea and were in a position to threaten Peking (now spelled Beijing). China had little choice but to seek an end to the war.

The terms of the 1895 peace treaty, the Treaty of Shimonoseki, were harsh. Japan demanded that China give up all control over Korea. Japan also took control of former Chinese possessions, including the Liaodong Peninsula, the island of Formosa (now Taiwan), and the Pescadores (a group of small islands near Taiwan). Japan forced China to pay a heavy indemnity, or monetary penalty, for the wartime losses and casualties Japan had suffered. Some of the conditions Japan imposed on China were more severe than those the Western powers had imposed on Japan in the unequal treaties.

The first Sino–Japanese War was a turning point in modern Asian history. For centuries, China had been the paramount country in East Asia. In fact, Japan, like many other Asian countries, had participated in a tributary system centered in China. And from early on Japan's leaders welcomed trade and desirable features and products of Chinese civilization. But it also carefully filtered out aspects of Chinese culture that it considered undesirable or changed them to fit Japanese culture.

The first Sino–Japanese War was startling proof that China, unlike Japan, had failed to modernize. Although China promptly moved to strengthen itself militarily, it was too late. Western nations quickly scrambled to establish spheres of influence in China. These were areas of China where France, England, Russia, Germany, and even Japan, China's former tributary, controlled trade, transportation, and natural resources, unhampered by the Chinese government. The Sino–Japanese War clearly marked Japan's emergence as a regional power in East Asia.

Activity: Impressions of the Front

The Japanese public, especially former samurai, was wildly enthusiastic about the war with China. So many people volunteered to join the military that the emperor issued an edict reminding people that they could also serve Japan at home. Victories of the Japanese army and navy dominated the Japanese press. Stories about brave soldiers and sailors, some of them true, others perhaps not, became legends. The war was depicted in thousands of woodblock prints called *ukiyo-e*. (See Chapter 1, Section 1, for more information about *ukiyo-e*.) These prints were created primarily by artists who never left Japan. Most of them were highly colored three-panel depictions of land and sea battles showing the heroic Japanese military defeating the hapless Chinese. These prints were eagerly snapped up, particularly by young boys.

The prints that follow depict aspects of the Sino–Japanese War from the viewpoint of Japanese printmakers. A short explanation of the event depicted follows each print. As you examine each print, jot down your impressions. You might ask yourself, for example,

- How are Japanese soldiers and sailors depicted?
- How are the Chinese depicted ?
- Does the print seem to idealize the war? That is, does it make the war seem noble without showing the suffering it caused on both sides?
- How might a photograph of an actual event differ from its depiction in the print?
- How might a Chinese artist have depicted the same scene?
- What do the titles of the prints indicate about their purpose?
- What function do the colors in the print serve?

China lost its last position in Korea in the September 1894 battle at Pyongyang, a fortified city. This print (page 57, top) shows a Japanese soldier said to have scaled the city walls and opened the gates of the enemy fort so his comrades could enter and vanquish their foe. The Chinese suffered huge casualties.

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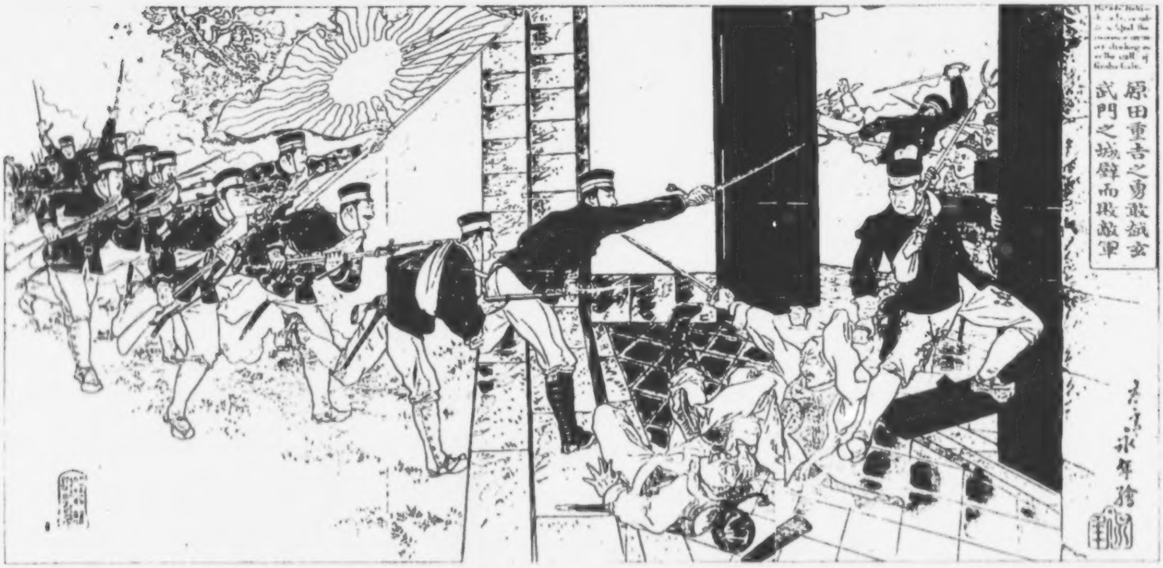
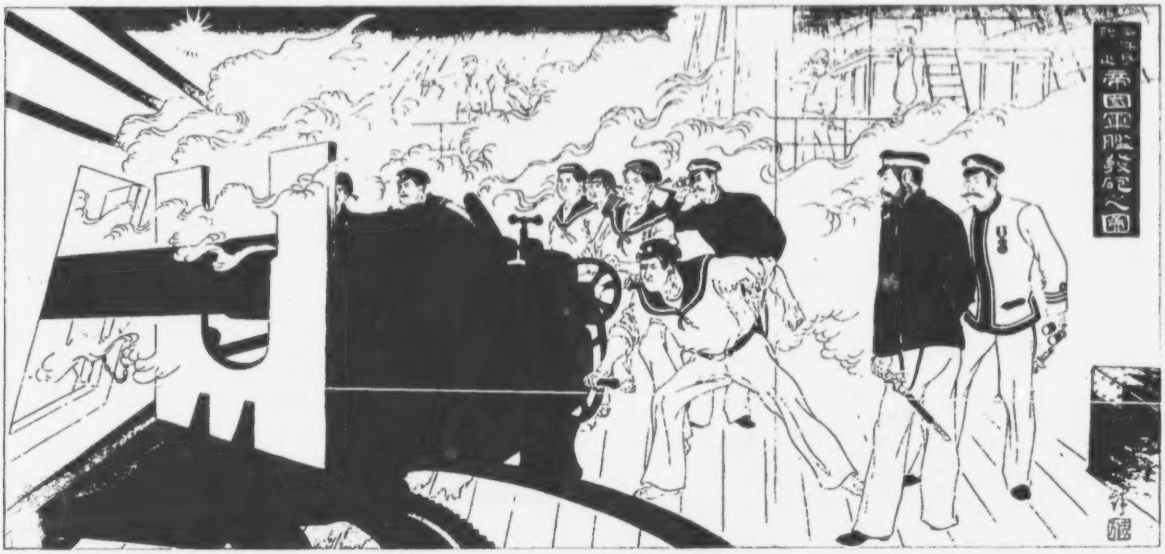
[2] *Sino* refers to China. The 1894–95 war between China and Japan is sometimes called the First Sino–Japanese War. The 1937–1945 war between China and Japan is sometimes called the Second Sino–Japanese War.

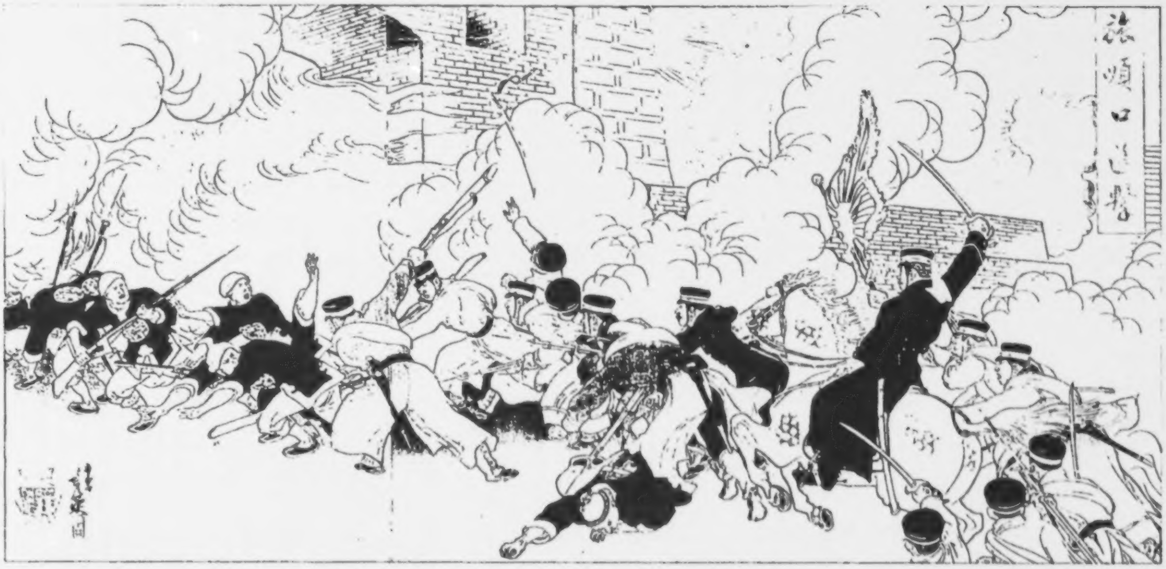

原田重吉之勇敢
武門之城壁而取敵軍

Private First-Class Harada Juichi, Climbing a Rampart, Opens a Pingyang Gate. By Einen.
Courtesy of Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mr. Peter Benoliel (funds contributed).

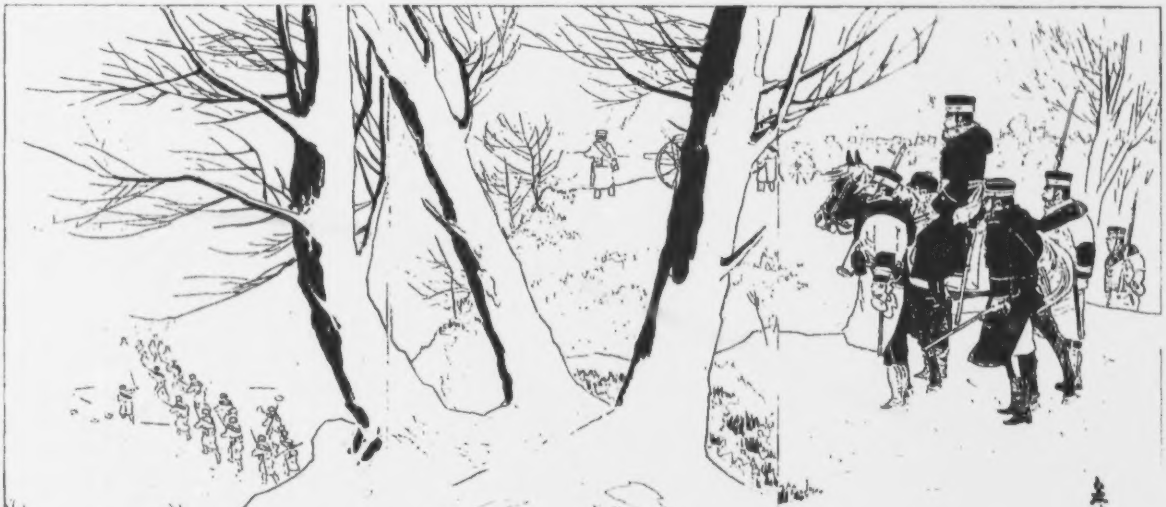


Japanese Warships Fire on the Enemy Near Haiyangtao. By Toshikata Mizuno.
Courtesy of Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mr. Peter Benoliel (funds contributed).

This print (page 57, bottom) shows Japanese sailors using rapid-fire artillery against Chinese ships. Japan won this battle, usually known as the Battle of the Yellow Sea, but sometimes called the Battle of Haiyangtao, in September 1894. The Chinese retreated to Port Arthur, then moved to Weihaiwei. This battle cost China control of the Yellow Sea.

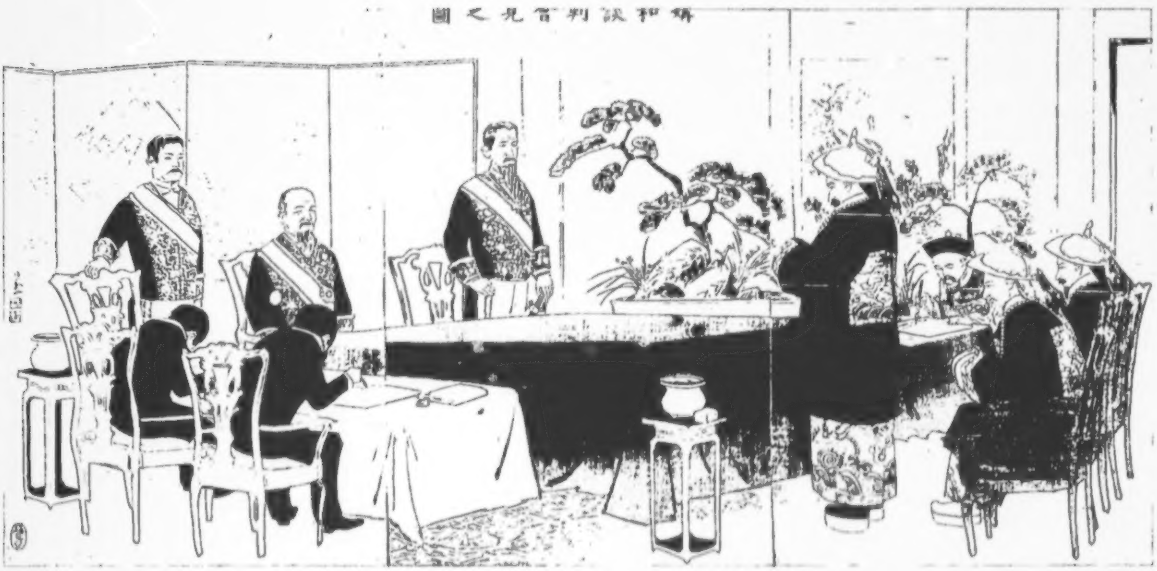


Advancing Toward Port Arthur, February 1895. By Toshihide.
Courtesy of Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mr. Peter Benoliel (funds contributed).



The Japanese Army Fights Furiously at Haicheng in Snow and Ice. By Beisaku Taguchi.
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mr. Peter Benoliel (funds contributed).

Port Arthur was the most important port on the Liaodong Peninsula. The Japanese fought the Chinese on land and at sea in November 1894 for what was reputed to be an unconquerable fortress (page 58, top). The Japanese were accused of massacring thousands of Chinese after conquering Port Arthur, supposedly in retaliation for atrocities Chinese troops had committed against Japanese prisoners of war.



Meeting for Peace Negotiations. By Kiyochika. Courtesy of Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, CA: Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Roland A. Way.

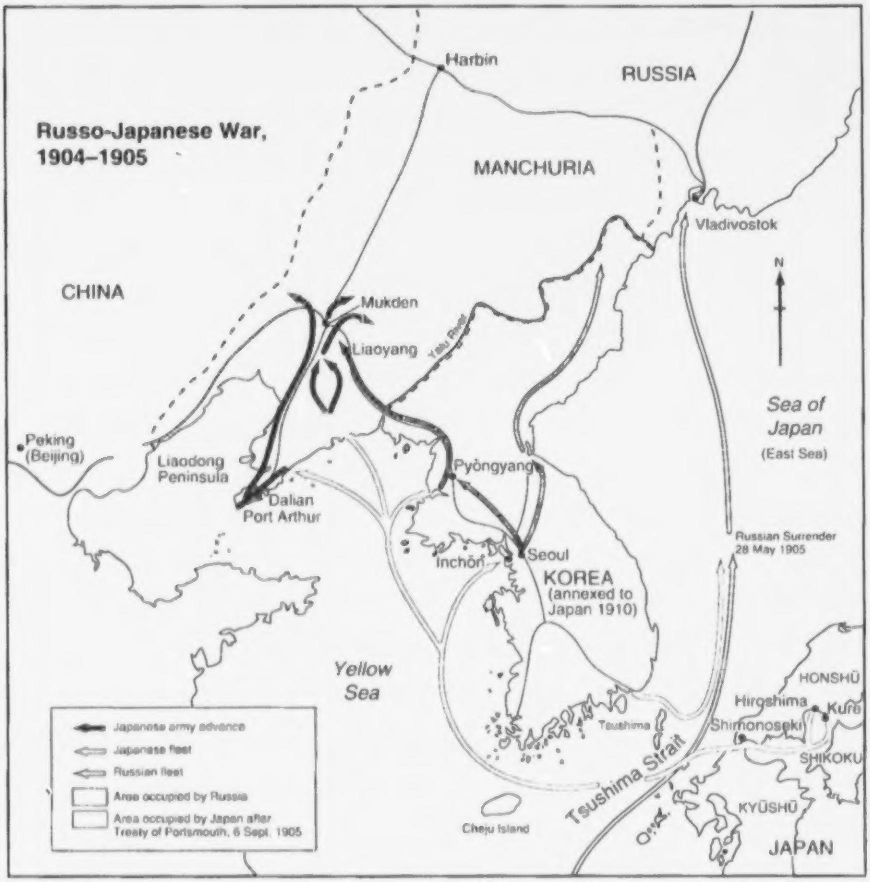
This print (page 58, bottom) shows a Japanese general watching his troops make their way through ice and snow to a battle site in Manchuria. After twenty-seven horses froze to death on the day this print depicts, the Japanese army was forced to make camp.

In April 1895 Japan and China signed a peace treaty at a restaurant in Shimonoseki, Japan (page 59, top). A former American secretary of state served as China's legal adviser during the negotiations. The Treaty of Shimonoseki required China to pay a heavy indemnity to Japan and to cede Taiwan, the Pescadores, and the Liaodong Peninsula to Japan.

The Russo–Japanese War, 1904–1905

Japan had little time to savor its triumph over China. Shortly after the war ended, Russia, along with France and Germany, led an effort to force Japan to give up control of the Liaodong Peninsula. This event, called the Triple Intervention, took place in 1895. Japanese officials, still trying to revise the unequal treaties they had lived with for so long, felt they had little choice but to comply. The

The bombardment of Port Arthur by the Japanese in 1904. Note the 500-pound shells in the foreground. A shell that had been fired can be seen above the white smoke. Copyright Underwood & Underwood/CORBIS, Los Angeles.


Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905
Harbin
RUSSIA
MANCHURIA
Vladivostok
N
CHINA
Mukden
Liaoyang
Yalu River
Sea of Japan
(East Sea)
Peking
(Beijing)
Liaodong
Peninsula
Pyŏngyang
Dalian
Port Arthur
Russian Surrender
28 May 1905
Seoul
Inchŏn
KOREA
(annexed to
Japan 1910)
Yellow
Sea
HONSHŪ
Hiroshima
Kure
Shimonoseki
Tsushima
Tsushima Strait
SHIKOKU
KYŪSHŪ
JAPAN
Cheju Island
Japanese army advance
Japanese fleet
Russian fleet
Area occupied by Russia
Area occupied by Japan after
Treaty of Portsmouth, 6 Sept. 1905

Adapted and reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press, New York.

Japanese public, still delighted with Japan's victory over China, was outraged.

Suddenly, it seemed, Russia emerged as a formidable rival in Northeast Asia. As a result of the Triple Intervention, Russia moved into the Liaodong Peninsula, paving the way for Russia to stake a claim to Korea. To counter this action, Japan promptly moved its forces back into Korea. At home, angry Japanese citizens clamored for a showdown with Russia.

For a while it seemed that Japan and Russia might come to an agreement in which Japan would allow Russia to have a free hand in Manchuria, and Russia would then give Japan a free hand in Korea. (Of course, neither the Chinese in Manchuria nor the Koreans in Korea were asked for their opinions on this.) But in the end these negotiations broke down.

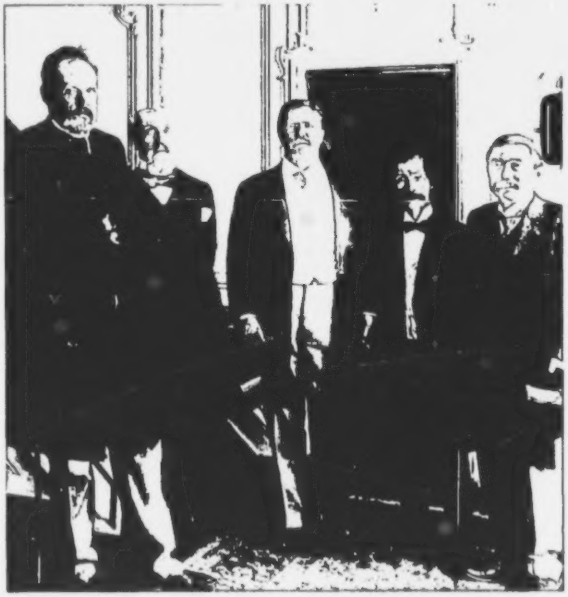
In February 1904 the Japanese army launched a surprise attack on Russian ships at Port Arthur, Russia's main naval base in East Asia. Japan's goal was to destroy Russia's Pacific fleet, and it succeeded. Thereafter the Russian navy presented no threat to Japan's ability to send its troops to Korea and Manchuria.

In January 1905 Japanese forces took Port Arthur itself, but only after suffering horrible casualties; their dead and wounded totaled about 58,000. The Japanese press trumpeted the news of the army's victory, but under strict government censorship it reported none of the staggering losses. In fact, the Japanese army at Port Arthur had exhausted its resources. Unaware, Japanese at home rejoiced over the success of this new war.

The Russo–Japanese War produced only a few of the woodblock prints that had fascinated young boys during the Sino–Japanese War. This time photographers showed the carnage on both sides, including the largest land battle of the war in March 1905 at Mukden. Again the Japanese army triumphed. But its casualties numbered 70,000; Russian casualties were estimated at 90,000.

In May 1905 Japan won a stunning naval victory at the Battle of Tsushima when Japanese ships pounced on Russia's Baltic Squadron as it moved between the straits between Korea and the Japanese island of Kyūshū. After this battle, both sides were willing to talk peace. The talks, held in Portsmouth, Maine, were mediated by Theodore Roosevelt. As president of the United States, Roosevelt was worried about the balance of power in Asia if Russia were to be driven out of the area. The resulting Treaty of Portsmouth gave Japan primacy in Korea. Russia gave its interests in southern Manchuria to Japan and ceded the southern half of the island of Sakhalin.

Japan's victory over Russia caught the world by surprise. For the first time an Asian nation had defeated a European nation in war. It had defeated its two major rivals in East Asia, China and Russia, for control of Korea and neighboring Manchuria. European powers congratulated Japan on its military might. Japan had indeed "enriched and strengthened" itself. By mastering the techniques of modern industry, technology, and warfare, Japan had shown to the world that it was ready to take its place as an equal in world affairs.



Representatives of the Russian and Japanese governments with U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt at the 1905 peace negotiations. Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in mediating the peace talks. Copyright Underwood & Underwood/CORBIS, Los Angeles.

This photo of Japanese soldiers was taken south of Mukden on March 5, 1905. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

Korea 1910

Japan promptly took its place among the world's imperialist nations by taking over Korea. Despite its own bitter experience with unequal treaties imposed by Western powers, Japan forced its own unequal treaty on Korea in 1876. In 1905 Japan made Korea a protectorate, meaning that Japan handled Korea's foreign affairs. It then proceeded to interfere in Korea's internal or domestic affairs as well. The Korean emperor was forced to abdicate or resign in favor of his son, who was seen as more controllable. The Korean army was dissolved. Japanese troops ruthlessly put down any resistance by Korean nationalists. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea, making it a colony. When the Meiji emperor died two years later, Japan held Korea, Taiwan, and the Pescadores as colonies, and it occupied southern Sakhalin and southern Manchuria. It had become Asia's most powerful nation.

Extension Activities

1. Read the liner notes and then listen to the first two selections on the compact disc *Arita Kagura* and *Kawahigashi Hayashida*. Explain to the class how both selections are connected to Shintō, or the way of the gods.
2. Read a biography of Tsuda Umeko or Sutematsu Ōyama, two of the young girls who accompanied members of the Iwakura Mission to the United States in 1871. Present your findings to the class in written or oral form. The following books are available in English: Akiko Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations: The Poignant Story of Japan's First Vassar Graduate* (New York, NY: Kodansha International, 1993); Barbara Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Yoshiko Furuki, *The White Plum: A Biography of Ume Tsuda, Pioneer in the Higher Education of Japanese Women* (New York, NY: Weatherhill, 1991).
3. Read *Facing Two Ways, The Story of My Life*, the autobiography of Baroness Shidzué Ishimoto, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984). Devise a way to share what you have learned with your classmates.
4. In his autobiography, Tanizaki, Jun'chirō tells of his reluctance to attend school as a young boy. Read pages 35–42 in his book *Childhood Years: A Memoir* (translated by Paul McCarthy. Tōkyō: Kodansha International, 1988). Contrast your experiences as a kindergartner and first-grader with his.
5. For a foreigner's perspective on Meiji Japan, read *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan* by Clara Whitney (Tōkyō: Kodansha International, 1979).
6. Read the following articles on modern loanwords: Nicholas Kristof, "Japan's Favorite Import from America: English," *New York Times*, February 21, 1995 (international page); Sato, Yuki, "Japanese English (For Beautiful Human Life)," *Look Japan*, September 1995, vol. 41 #474, pp. 30–32. Choose ten loanwords you find interesting, list them on the board, and then help your classmates understand their meanings.
7. Choose one of the woodblock prints produced during the Sino–Japanese war in *Impressions of the Front: Woodcuts of the Sino–Japanese War, 1894–95*, by Shumpei Okamoto (Philadelphia, PA: Museum of Art, 1983). Then create your own version of the print using colored pencils or another medium of your choice.
8. Examine the woodblock prints depicting the Sino–Japanese or the Russo–Japanese war created by the artist Kiyochika in *Kiyochika, Artist of Meiji Japan*, by Henry D. Smith II (Santa Barbara, CA, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1988). Choose one of his prints and then recreate the same scene from a Chinese, Taiwanese, or Russian point of view.
9. Read "One Soldier's Story," written by Tayama Katai in 1908. It can be found in *Modern Japanese Literature*, an anthology compiled and edited by Donald Keene (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1956). Tayama served in the army during the Russo–Japanese war; this story seems to be based on his observations. Originally the story was considered openly antimilitaristic, and it was sometimes printed with certain passages deleted. Why? Does it seem antimilitaristic to you? Recount the story and your reaction to it orally or in writing.

Further Reading

General Reading

Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Idealogy in the Late Meiji Period.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.

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Stephens, Michael D. *Japan and Education.* London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1991.

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Beauchamp, Edward R., and Akira Iriye, eds. *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press Inc., 1990.

Jones, Hazel J. *Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

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Perez, Louis G. *Japan Comes of Age: Mutsu Munemitsu and the Revision of the Unequal Treaties.* Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1999.

Section 3

Conservative Reaction and the Costs of Building a Modern State

The turmoil that marked the early Meiji years was followed by a period of conservatism—the inclination to keep things the way they are or go back to the way they were—and to resist change. Samurai rebelled against the government that had destroyed their way of life. Peasants, the backbone of Japan's economy, rebelled against the hardships the government imposed on them in the name of "civilization and enlightenment." Government leaders also became more conservative in some ways, cracking down, for example, on those who supported ideas such as writing a constitution and establishing a government where the people had some kind of representation. Still, Meiji leaders should not be thought conservative. Rather, they continued to push Japan to change, to become a modern country, even in the face of opposition.

The first part of this section looks at how the Meiji government moved against both those who wanted to return to the old ways and those who wanted greater change than was being made. The second part consists of personal accounts of ordinary Japanese people and the price they paid to make Japan a modern nation.

The Suppression of Dissent

The Samurai

Not everyone was pleased by the Meiji government's determination to "enrich the nation and strengthen the army." Some of the former samurai, having lost their privileged positions, and even their livelihoods, when the Tokugawa shogunate was overturned, were the first to rebel against the restored imperial government. Throughout the 1870s, angry samurai erupted into armed uprisings against the new government. Meiji leaders moved quickly and successfully to crush them.

The Satsuma Rebellion, 1877

The largest of these samurai uprisings was the Satsuma Rebellion. It was led, ironically, by Saigō Takamori, a samurai from Satsuma who had played a key role in overthrowing the Tokugawa government in 1868.

Saigō Takamori 1827–1877, was one of the leading figures of the Meiji Restoration. He died rebelling against the same government he had earlier fought to establish. Copyright 1998. From Modern Japan: An Encyclopedia of History, Culture, and Nationalism *by James Huffman. Reproduced by permission of Routledge, Inc., part of the Taylor and Francis Group.*

After the Meiji Restoration, Saigō was persuaded to take a leading government position in Tōkyō. During the early 1870s he served in a caretaker government while other prominent Japanese officials traveled abroad on the Iwakura Mission. (See Chapter 1, Section 2.) In their absence, Saigō proposed provoking an incident with the Korean government; then when the Koreans responded, so his thinking went, Japan could justify launching a military invasion of Korea. Saigō pressed the idea of attacking Korea partly to provide an outlet for the simmering anger of the displaced samurai and to prove that the samurai, with their warrior code of *bushidō*, were indispensable.

Some of the members of the Iwakura Mission returned to Japan to quash Saigō's military plans. Frustrated when he could not restore the samurai to their place of honor, Saigō resigned from his government position and retired to Satsuma on the island of Kyūshū. In 1877 he became the leader of the anti-government forces there, which eventually numbered 42,000 men. Soon angry former samurai were marching toward Tōkyō. On the way they clashed with government troops determined to stop them.

The Satsuma Rebellion was the first real test of the Meiji government's new army, made up of young peasant draftees. Over 6,000 government troops died in the conflict. But over 20,000 of the rebels were killed or wounded. And later, after the government finally put down the rebellion, it executed 2,700 more. Saigō himself committed ritual suicide as the imperial forces closed in around him. The Satsuma Rebellion marked the end of armed samurai resistance to the Meiji government.

Peasants

Like the samurai, Japan's peasants—80 percent of the population during the Meiji period—also resented many of the reforms imposed by the new government. True, some reforms benefited the peasants. The government abolished the feudal class system of Tokugawa society and reclassified everyone into three classes: *kazoku* (nobles), *shizoku* (ex-military) and *heimin* (commoners). For the first time, commoners were required to adopt family names, a privilege denied them in the past. And some marriages were permitted among people of different classes. In 1872 the government introduced a universal education system and required children to attend school for a minimum of three to four years.

But some of the reforms imposed a heavy burden on the peasants. Many could not afford the tuition to send their children to school. Furthermore, parents needed their children at home to work in the fields and help support their families. The peasants were not happy either about sending their strong young sons to serve in the army. Some resented having to deal with *eta* or *hinin*, who had formerly been outcasts, as equals. (See Chapter 3, Section 3, for information about the *eta*.)

In the early years of the Meiji period, peasants rioted many times to protest such issues as high taxes and price hikes. Usually the government responded by sending soldiers to crush the rebels and imprisoning or executing their leaders.

The Chichibu Uprising, 1884

Peasants' unrest reached new heights in the mid-1880s when tens of thousands could not pay their taxes, became indebted to moneylenders, and finally lost their lands. The Chichibu area, in the Kantō region on Honshū, was hit particularly hard when the price of raw silk collapsed and crops failed. Some of the peasants petitioned local officials to help them. They asked to postpone paying their debts for several years and then to extend the payback period. They asked that their taxes be reduced. They asked to be released, for three years, from sending their children to school. When their petitions were ignored, the peasants set out for the county capital, Chichibu. On their way they attacked the houses of moneylenders. They ransacked government buildings, destroying the paperwork that showed how much money they owed. They stole money and weapons. At its peak, the peasant force grew to seven thousand rebels. The government sent in police and troops to put down the rebellion. A few leaders managed to escape and went into hiding. Others were executed or imprisoned.

Although a few smaller protests flared afterward, the failure of the Chichibu uprising marked the end of violent peasant uprisings against the Meiji government. Later movements were swiftly and ruthlessly put down by the government, which did nothing to rescue the peasants from their plight. Many desperate peasants were reduced to selling their children as indentured servants, or even worse, selling their daughters into prostitution, to keep their families from starving.

Questions

1. Both former samurai and peasants rebelled against the Meiji government. How were their reasons for rebellion similar? How were they different? (To respond to this question, you may need to review the information in Chapter 1, Section 1, about what happened to the samurai when the Tokugawa government was overthrown.)
2. Saigō Takamori is still one of the best-known and loved figures of Japanese history because of his unswerving loyalty to samurai ideals. It

was said that he personified "the nobility of failure."[1] Explain what this statement means. (You may need to review Chapter 1, Section 1, for information about samurai ideals.)

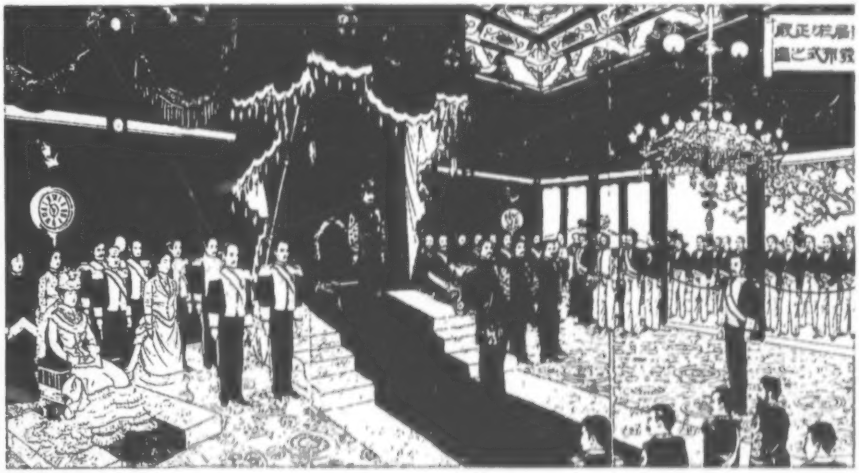
The Freedom and People's Rights Movement

Saigō Takamori's failed Satsuma Rebellion convinced former samurai that rebelling against the Meiji government was both useless and dangerous. Some former samurai then put down their swords and joined with others in the "freedom and people's rights movement," establishing political parties and trying to spread such ideas as democracy and the rights of citizens. This movement was not a mass movement of common people rallying to demand a voice in government. And popular-rights advocates did not support the peasants in any meaningful way. Rather, the movement was a struggle between an in-group and an out-group of Meiji leaders. The out-group criticized the government in speeches and newspaper articles and spoke out for new ideas like representative government. But they also spent a lot of time and energy attacking each other. And when their leaders were offered privileges such as foreign travel or positions in the government—a chance to join the in-group—they accepted eagerly.

When in 1874 a group of former samurai had first petitioned the government to establish a national assembly—some kind of elected body to represent the people—Meiji officials argued that it was too soon. The Japanese people, they felt, had too little experience with Western-style governments to participate responsibly in a representative government. In the 1880s, as popular-rights proponents grew more vocal in their demands, the government passed law after law to restrict them. The press was censored, and some journalists were imprisoned. Political gatherings and associations were strictly limited. In 1887 the government proclaimed the most restrictive laws of all, the Peace Regulations. An imperial regulation was issued that banned secret societies and meetings, allowed police to break up open-air meetings, and forbade the publication of "dangerous" literature, including newspapers, all under penalty of fines or imprisonment or both. Finally, it allowed the police to expel from Tōkyō for three years anyone "judged to be scheming something detrimental to public tranquillity," again under threat of confinement.

The Meiji Constitution

Although the Meiji government blocked the activists' efforts to establish a constitutional government, Meiji officials paradoxically thought that Japan should indeed have a constitution, not because they believed that Japan should become a



"Picture of the Issuance of the Constitution in the State Chamber of the New Palace," *March 14, 1889, by artist Adachi Ginkō. The Meiji Constitution promulgated that day remained in force until 1947. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1959. Photograph ©1993 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (JP 3233-35).*

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[1] The phrase "the nobility of failure" comes from the book by Ivan I. Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.)

democratic nation, but because they believed that a constitution, like industrialization and a strong army, was yet another feature of a modern country. If Western countries had constitutions, they felt, then Japan should have one too.

In 1881 the government declared that it would draft a constitution and establish a national assembly by 1890. Meiji officials toured Europe to study other countries' governments and constitutions. In 1888 they drafted the Imperial Japanese Constitution, better known as the Meiji Constitution.

The Meiji Constitution was formally announced or promulgated on February 11, 1889, as a gift from the emperor to the people. It began with these words: "The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal." At least in theory, the Meiji Constitution gave ultimate power to the emperor. He held supreme command over the armed forces. He could declare war, make peace, and conclude treaties. He had the power to appoint officials who were responsible only to him. He held supreme authority over the legislative branch of government, called the Diet, which he could convene, suspend, or dissolve, and he could veto its legislation. When he died, he was to be succeeded in office by a male descendant.

Questions

1. How did the Meiji government treat those who spoke out for ideas like representative government and a constitution?
2. List the main elements of the 1887 Peace Regulations. Why did the Meiji government include expulsion from Tōkyō for anyone "judged to be scheming something detrimental to public tranquillity"?
3. Before the Meiji Constitution was written, Japanese scholars studied European constitutions and the American constitution. They rejected the American constitution as a model for a Japanese constitution. Why do you think they did so? What was the most fundamental difference between the American constitution and the proposed Japanese constitution?
4. Although the Meiji government punished those who spoke out for a constitution, its officials studied other countries' constitutions and wrote a constitution for Japan. Speculate on the reasons for this seemingly contradictory behavior on the part of the Meiji government.

Activity: Who Held Power?

For this activity you need three different-colored pens or pencils. Your teacher will give you a handout similar to the chart on the next page. It lists the names of those who served as members of the *genrō* (with "g" as in *go*), a group of senior statesmen who served the emperor as personal advisors from August 1892 to September 1896. (Although they were not members of the government, they became a ruling clique.) The handout also lists cabinet members, that is, the heads of the emperor's departments, such as education, justice, and war. Finally, it includes the names of those who served as presidents of the cabinet, the prime ministers.

1. Tape together the two pages of Handout A your teacher gives you. Your handout will now be 8-1/2 inches wide and 22 inches long.
2. Choose a color. Then look at the name of the first member of the *genrō*, Itō Hirobumi. If he was also a member of the cabinet, draw a line from his name in the *genrō* column to his name in the cabinet column every time it appears. Repeat these directions for every member of the *genrō*, using the same color. That is, draw a line from the names in the *genrō* column to those same names in the cabinet column whenever they appear.
3. Choose another color. This time look only at the cabinet column. Draw a circle around names that appear more than once in the cabinet column.
4. Choose a final color. Use the left margin to draw lines linking the same names in the cabinet column. For example, Saigō Tsugumichi's name shows up twice in the cabinet column. Draw a line in the left margin linking his name as minister of war to his name as minister of the navy.

Members of the *Genrō* and Cabinet, August 1892 to September 1896

Cabinet Members

ITŌ Hirobumi, Prime Minister
(1892–1896)
INOUE Kaoru, Acting Prime Minister
(November 1892–February 1893)
KURODA Kiyotaka, Acting Prime Minister
(March–September 1896)
MUTSU Munemitsu, Foreign Affairs
(August 1892–June 1895; April–May 1896)
SAIONJI Kinmochi, Foreign Affairs
(June 1895–April 1896; May–September 1896)
INOUE Kaoru, Home Affairs
(August 1892–October 1894)
YOSHIKAWA Akimasa, Home Affairs
(May 1894–June 1894; February 1896–April 1896)
NOMURA Yasushi, Home Affairs
(October 1894–February 1896)
ITAGAKI Taisuke, Home Affairs
(April–September 1896)
WATANABE Kuniaki, Finance
(August 1892–March 1895; August 1895–September 1896)
MATSUKATA Masayoshi, Finance
(March 1895–August 1895)
ŌYAMA Iwao, War
(August 1892–October 1894; May 1895–September 1896)
SAIGŌ Tsugumichi, War
(October–March 1895; April–May 1895)
YAMAGATA Aritomo, War
(March–April 1895; May 1895)
NIRE, Kagenori, Navy
(August 1892–March 1893)
SAIGŌ Tsugumichi, Navy
(March 1893–September 1896)
YAMAGATA Aritomo, Justice
(August 1892–March 1893)
YOSHIKAWA Akimasa, Justice
(March 1893–September 1896)
KŌNO Togama, Education
(August 1892–March 1893)
INOUE Kowashi, Education
(March 1893–August 1894)
YOSHIKAWA Akimasa, Education
(August 1894–October 1894)
SAIONJI Kinmochi, Education
(October 1894–September 1896)
GOTO Shōjirō, Agriculture and Commerce
(August 1892–January 1894)
ENOMOTO Takeaki, Agriculture and Commerce
(January 1894–September 1896)
KURODA Kiyotaka, Communications
(August 1892–March 1895)
WATANABE Kunitake, Communications
(March 1895–October 1895)
SHIRANE Sen'ichi, Communications
(October 1895–September 1896)
TAKASHIMA Tomonosuke, Colonization
KURODA Kiyotaka, President, Privy Council**
(March 1895–September 1896)

Genrō Members

ITŌ Hirobumi

YAMAGATA Aritomo

INOUE Kaoru

KURODA Kiyotaka

YAMADA Akiyoshi

ŌYAMA Iwao

SAIGŌ Tsugumichi

MATSUKATA Masayoshi

KATSURA Taro

SAIONJI Kinmochi*

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* Scholars differ on exactly when Katsura and Saionji became official members of the *genrō*. Some sources state 1892 while others state 1911 for Katsura and 1912 for Saionji. This chart uses the 1892 date.

** The Privy Council was another advisory body to the emperor that was established in 1888. Cabinet members' names and terms of office adapted from "Japanese Cabinets Since the Introduction of the Cabinet System in 1885," in *Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History*, compiled by Janet E. Hunter. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984.

Questions

1. Look carefully at your chart. Then write a statement telling who held power in the Meiji government for the years 1892 to 1896. Support your statement with data from the chart.
2. The chart you filled in and the information you derived from it are valid only for the years 1892 to 1896. However, if you were to fill in similar charts for the years 1885 to 1912, you would find most of the same members of the *genrō* holding positions in the Meiji government. What might be the advantages of having a group of people like the *genrō* as part of a government structure? What might be the disadvantages?

The Meiji Constitution (continued)

In theory, as the constitution stated, the emperor controlled the entire Meiji state. But as you learned from your chart, this was not so in practice; rather, the elder statesmen or *genrō* who had led the Meiji Restoration exercised true power. They served as an advisory group to the emperor, even though the constitution did not authorize such a body.

These loyal former samurai, mainly from the Satsuma and Chōshū *han* (clans), dominated political decision-making in Japan until well after the turn of the century. They chose the cabinet—the people who headed executive departments—and advised the emperor. They selected the prime minister—the head of the cabinet. They decided which proposals the Diet would consider, and they issued imperial laws in the emperor's name. In fact, they controlled the emperor, thereby holding the real power in deciding issues of foreign relations and domestic policy.

Although the Meiji Constitution granted the people certain rights and privileges "within the limits of the law," in fact, the Meiji government strictly limited those rights. The Imperial Diet, the legislative branch of government, was supposed to represent the rights of the people, but the Diet's power was limited too. The Diet had two houses, an upper house, called the House of Peers, and a lower house, called the House of Representatives. Members of the House of Representatives were "elected by the people," but the only people who had the right to vote were male property owners who paid a land tax of fifteen yen or more—about one percent of the population.[2] The House of Representatives could pass laws, but the emperor or the House of Peers could veto them. The Diet had no control over the privy council—another group of advisers to the emperor—or the cabinet, and little control over the military. The army's chief of staff reported directly to the emperor, the supreme commander of the armed forces. The Diet had limited power over the military budget: The executive branch had to submit bills to the Diet for new taxes when money was needed to raise the military budget. In all other matters, the military was beyond the control of the Diet, the cabinet, and even the constitution itself.

Questions

1. In theory, who held the greatest power under the Meiji Constitution? In reality, who held the greatest power? Explain this statement: "Under the Meiji Constitution, the emperor reigned but he did not rule."
2. From what you have read and the chart you filled in, explain which person or group was most likely to be able to get something done under the Meiji Constitution: the emperor, the cabinet, the *genrō*, the Diet, the army and navy, the people. Explain your response.

Japan Joins the Industrial Revolution

When the Meiji emperor ascended the Chrysanthemum Throne in 1868, Japan was largely an agricultural country with few raw materials. Its main export was silk. Its leaders saw that to make Japan a modern nation, they had to reform its economy and industrialize the country.

Japan was ready for such a change. Even though it was short of such natural resources as oil, gas, and minerals, it already had usable roads and even some textile factories and iron mills. But it would take much more to "enrich and strengthen the nation" on a large scale. So the Meiji government began a program to stimulate Japan's economic growth and modernization.

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[2] Suffrage or the right to vote was extended to all males in 1925; women gained suffrage after World War II.

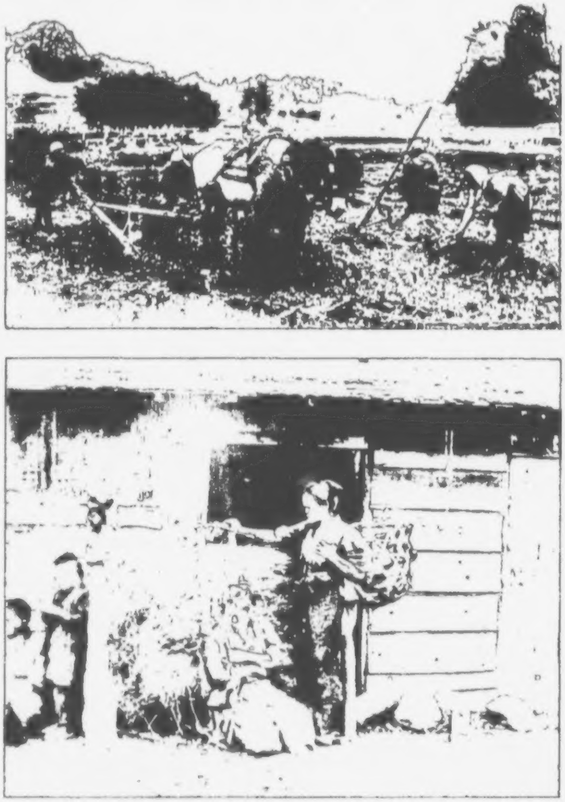
First it changed the economy, establishing a new tax system and introducing a new currency and banking system. Then it took the lead in constructing Japan's railroads, linking major cities. It built communications systems, such as telegraph lines and the postal system, enabling people throughout the country to communicate with each other. It brought in hundreds of foreign advisers to help build industries such as arsenals and foundries and to open copper and coal mines. It also worked to establish silk- and cotton-spinning factories, along with smaller factories that produced beer, sake, lacquerware, glass, and other consumer goods. Especially in this early phase of industrializing, Japanese factories tended to be small; as late as 1906, about half of privately owned factories had fewer than ten employees.

The government owned some mines and factories and other businesses; it also offered incentives to private owners to build and operate such enterprises. In fact, the government and some large businesses worked together so closely that large, favored companies, called *zaibatsu*, emerged. Company owners and government officials often had strong personal ties; they worked hand-in-hand to support each other, both politically and financially.

One of the effects of Japan's efforts to industrialize was a huge increase in the paid labor force. People were no longer stuck with farming for a living. Although working conditions in the new factories could be dreadful, and in the mines downright dangerous, the government encouraged its citizens to work hard to enrich the nation. The phenomenon of Japan's economic growth during the Meiji era can hardly be overstated. In just a few decades, Japan was on its way to becoming a modern industrialized nation.

The Unsung Heroes of the Meiji State

Much of the actual work of making Japan a modern nation-state was borne by the ordinary people of Japan—peasant farmers, urban factory workers, coal miners, and many others who, for the most part, spent their lives working in what we today would consider horrific conditions and then died as they had lived, in poverty and obscurity.



(top) *Farmers working in a field, ca. 1900. Courtesy of Ukiyo-e Books, Leiden, The Netherlands.* (bottom) *Woman carrying a bundle of straw, ca. 1890. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.*

Peasant Farmers

The story of the exciting growth of Japanese cities, and especially of the rise of industry during the Meiji era, omits the fact that most Japanese still lived in the countryside, where peasant farmers kept tilling their tiny plots of land as they had for generations, seemingly untouched by the ideas and the technology that fascinated city dwellers.

But in reality, the lives of the peasants were acutely affected by Japan's determination to build a rich nation and a strong army. During the Meiji period, most of the money that financed Japan's modernization came from taxes imposed on peasant farmers. And many of the soldiers in Japan's strong army were young men drafted from their families' farms.

Still, farmers benefited from some of the Meiji era reforms. One of the most important benefits was the government's recognition of private ownership of land. Beginning in 1872, peasants who had been farming for their feudal lords actually received the deeds to the plots of land they had farmed for generations. For the first time, farmers were free to buy and sell land and to grow whatever crops they pleased.

But this new system of land ownership was not without its costs. In 1873 the government also changed the tax system. Instead of paying taxes on the value of their crops, farmers had to pay on the value of their land. And for the first time, they had to pay in currency, not in rice. Because farmers sold their rice to earn the cash for their taxes, the price of rice became their biggest worry. In years when rice was abundant, they were forced to sell it at a lower cost, perhaps not earning enough to pay their taxes. In years when the harvest was poor, they might not have enough rice to sell, and again they might not earn enough to pay their taxes.

Farmers with tools, ca. 1880. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

During the early years of the Meiji Restoration, the very years when 80 percent of the government's income came from land taxes, thousands of farmers lost their land because they could not pay their taxes. Many of them then became tenant farmers, living on the land they had once owned but cultivating it for someone else. Others managed to hold on to a few *cho* (2.45 acres) of their own land, while working for a richer farmer. In either event, life for these "water-drinking peasants," who had to drink water to ease their hunger, was an unending battle against the elements.

From peasant farmers the Japanese government demanded more than tax money; it also demanded that their sons serve in the Japanese military. In 1873, the same year that the new tax system began, the government also imposed universal conscription, requiring that all men between twenty and thirty-two serve in the military for three years, followed by four years in the reserves. Although some exemptions were allowed—for example, heads of families and sole sons and grandsons were exempted—the peasants hated the military draft because it took their strong, young laborers. The peasants called conscription the "blood tax"; some of them even believed that blood would be drained from their sons' bodies. Despite the peasants' sometimes violent protests against conscription, by 1883 Japan had an army composed almost entirely of conscripted soldiers; an important milestone had been reached in "strengthening the army."

The Story of Kanji

Although Kanji's story is fictional, it is based on the author's memories of growing up as the son of a well-off land-owning farmer in a village near Tōkyō during the Meiji era. The main character, Kanji, is a farmer who has managed to hold on to some of his own land. But to feed himself, his young son, Yokichi, and his daughter, Otsugi, he must neglect his own fields to work as a tenant farmer on his master's land. Kanji's wife, Oshina, a loving mother and a mainstay of the family economy, died when Yokichi was a toddler.

Kanji's fields yielded a pitifully small harvest that fall. It was not that the weather had been bad or that the soil itself was poor. He had got his crops in late and had not applied much fertilizer. No matter how much energy he expended the results were bound to be disappointing. It was the same for all poor farmers. They spent long hours in their fields doing all they could to raise enough food. Then after the harvest they had to part with most of what they had produced. Their crops were theirs only for as long as they stood rooted in the soil. Once the farmers had paid the rents they owed they were lucky to have enough left over to sustain them through the winter. During the growing season itself they had to abandon their own fields to do day labor for others to earn money for that day's food. They had not forgotten that their own fields needed tending—in a village where everyone worked at farming it was impossible to forget what needed to be done at any given time. They simply had to deal with the immediate necessity of getting something to eat. Even when their own crops needed attention they might not be able to provide it for days at a time. . . .

Despite all his hard work Kanji remained trapped in poverty. He still had not repaid any of the rent rice he had borrowed after Oshina's death. Nor did he have enough food to last until the harvest. By midsummer, when even the water in the well had retreated from the scorching sun, his meager supply of rice and barley had almost run out. Like the other farmers he had planted eggplants, squash, and cucumbers to supplement his family's usual diet of grains. Lacking a plot of appropriate land nearby, he had set a row of cucumbers out along the hedge around his yard, driving in a bamboo stake beside each plant. He had stolen the bamboo from the forest behind his house, as he did whenever he needed some. The squash, too, he had planted next to the privy [outhouse] in the far corner of the yard and at the base of the chestnut tree near his house. Only the eggplants had gone into his patch of dry land on the other side of the village, where he planted them between the rows of barley. Unable to prepare cuttings himself and lacking the money to buy good ones, he had acquired the young plants from a local peddler. . . .

Japanese children, ca. 1880s. Older children were expected to care for younger siblings. Courtesy of Ukiyo-e Books, Leiden, The Netherlands.

After the barley had been harvested, five short rows of eggplant remained in Kanji's field, surrounded by newly planted upland rice and soy beans. Their lower leaves were yellow, but having been shaded from the hot sun by the barley, they had taken root and begun to grow. Despite the poor soil, which Kanji could never fertilize, each plant had put forth blossoms. In the morning when it was still cool and the leaves remained moist Kanji trudged off to the field and scattered ashes from his stove over each plant. That served to keep the melon bugs in check, but it could not prevent the aphids from multiplying. Nor did Kanji have the time or energy to hunt and crush the cutworms that hid in the soil, and ate through the stems, slowly killing off one plant after another. His cucumbers did poorly, too, the vines and leaves drying up in the heat before the fruit matured. . . .

Everyone faced a similar problem even though no one else's crops were doing quite as poorly as Kanji's. Until their vegetables were ripe at last the farmers had only their dwindling supplies of dried greens and pickles from the previous year to supplement their meals. Faint with hunger from their labor they ate anything, however unsavory it looked or smelled, just to fill the gaping void they felt inside them. Not even pausing to chew, they washed down great mouthfuls of moldering barley with water, for only by getting as much into their bellies as possible could they get their strength back. Although not even a horse or cow will eat hay when it can graze on green grass, poor farmers had no alternative but to consume old, decaying food.

All poor farmers, their mouths parched from toiling in the heat, longed for the taste of vegetables. Sometimes the longing was so great that they stole produce from another's field. Women were especially likely to do this. If they found themselves on a lonely path at dusk and spied something edible in an adjacent field they could not resist picking it and hurrying off with it tucked beneath their aprons. No farmer could prevent such theft, however angry he might be when he discovered it. It was simply impossible to keep watch over the scattered plots of land he tilled. Even Kanji's miserable patch of eggplants was raided once. Looking down the next morning at the damaged stalks from which the tiny eggplants had been torn in haste he was swept by resentment and despair. He would get even, though. If people were going to steal from him, he would take vegetables from someone else. It was only fair. Besides, as long as one didn't get caught, it was the easiest way to satisfy one's hunger.

From Nagatsuka Takashi, *The Soil: A Portrait of Rural Life in Meiji Japan*, Translated by Ann Waswo. London: Routledge, 1989, p. 47 and pp. 66–69.

Questions

1. Write three words that describe the lives of peasant farmers and their families in Meiji Japan. Then explain the reasons for your choices.
2. Speculate on what might have happened to Kanji's children as they grew up. What was the most likely role for his daughter Otsugi in village society at this time? What about his son? Speculate on what might have happened to Yokichi as he grew older.
3. Did Kanji have any possibilities for improving his condition in life? Why or why not? Had you found yourself in Kanji's dire straits, what options do you think you might have considered to make life for yourself and your children better? List as many as you can think of.

A prostitute in her early teens, ca. 1860s–1870s. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

The Prostitutes

Before her death, Oshina and Kanji discussed sending their fifteen-year-old daughter, Otsugi, into service as a maid in a wealthy household. She would have earned about 10 yen a year, which her parents would have collected in advance, and the family would have had one less mouth to feed. But after his wife died, Kanji needed his daughter both as a laborer and as a surrogate mother for two-year-old Yokichi.

In some ways, Otsugi was fortunate. Her father did not send her into service; he did not, as he reminded her, send her to work as a weaver in a textile mill so he could collect an advance for her work, and he did not sell her into prostitution.

During the Tokugawa period, peasants practiced infanticide—baby killing—when they could not afford to feed their newborns. But the Meiji government made abortion and infanticide crimes; it also banned information about birth control.

However, it did not make prostitution or brothels illegal. Faced with starvation and destitution, some peasant families resorted to selling their daughters into prostitution. Although some parents were told that their daughters were being sold into fine *geisha* houses, girls from rural families were most often sold into common brothels, literally by the thousands, especially in years when the crops failed.

Although the Meiji Emancipation Act of 1872 outlawed buying and selling girls into prostitution, the practice continued until after World War II. A girl was usually sold for six years of indentured service. In return for the money advanced to her parents and the cost of her own food, clothing, and lodging, the girl then owed the brothel keeper six years of servitude. She could not leave the brothel until all these debts were paid. Because the brothel keeper usually kept 60 percent of what a customer paid and credited 40 percent to the girl, minus whatever she owed for expenses, a young prostitute would have to service literally thousands of men to pay off her debts. Some girls never did manage to repay their debts; others stayed on after their period of service to continue sending money to their families.

Life in the common brothels was unrelentingly miserable. A prostitute was at the mercy of the brothel owner, who could beat her, starve her, and might even kill her when she was too old or too ill to be of use, often without fear of retribution either from the authorities or from her family, who usually lived too far away to know what was happening to their daughter.

Reformers tried to liberate girls from brothels, especially in the early part of the 1900s, but they often failed. Girls who were persuaded to leave still had to pay off their debts. Brothel keepers usually demanded that parents repay, at once, in full, the advance they had received, along with any other debt their daughters had incurred; the courts upheld their demands. Girls who did leave were often rejected by the larger society because of their pasts; few of them had any skills that would earn them a living. Some girls who returned to their families were not welcome at home. Because they were no longer contributing to the household, they were viewed as just one more mouth to feed.

The parents who sold their daughters into prostitution often expected them to accept their bitter fate as a duty to the family in the name of filial piety.

A Sister Sold

The following account was written by a woman whose older sister was sold into prostitution after the Meiji period, during the Taishō era (1912–1925), to save her family from poverty.

When my older sister fell into the pathetic world of prostitutes, I was too young to know what had happened. When I woke up one morning, my gentle sister was gone. When I asked my mother where she was, my mother told me, "Your sister has gone to a far-off place in order to save all of you. Poor thing! When you grow up you must be kind to her. You must not forget the debt you owe her." In the spring of my seventeenth year, I was invited to stay with my sister. I used to hide behind the stairway, where my sister was on display in a shameful fashion, and weep. I felt tremendous hatred toward the men who came and made lewd, insulting remarks to her. . . . I wished I could pour a pot of boiling water on these ignoble people. When my sister had to entertain a customer, I would get so angry that I had the urge to kill him. . . . My sister sacrificed her life to save our family from poverty. During the course of ten years of slavery, she surely committed many sins. If only this kind of system did not exist; if only the government would ban it, then no one could enter this way of life, even if she wanted to. Since the system exists and the government permits it, . . . human flesh is sold and people sink into the pit.

From Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*. New York, NY, Pantheon Books, 1982, p. 215.

Questions

1. Why did these parents sell their daughter into prostitution? Do you think this act meant they did not love her or care what happened to her? Explain your response.
2. How did the mother explain to the younger sister why her older sister was gone? What kind of "debt" does the younger sister owe to her older sister?

3. How did the younger sister feel when she saw her older sister? What were her feelings toward her older sister's clients?
4. How did the younger sister think the problem of prostitution should be solved? How likely do you think it was that her wish was granted?

Miners

The Meiji government regarded mining as a vital industry and operated mines itself before yielding control to big business groups with close ties to the state. Throughout the nineteenth century, coal had been Japan's main source of energy; it was one of the few resources in which Japan was self-sufficient. During the Meiji period Japan was even able to export coal.

Mining was dirty, exhausting work. During Tokugawa times, the Japanese government used convicts to wrest coal from its mines hundreds of feet underground; this practice continued during the Meiji era. But the private mining companies established during the Meiji period had to find their own sources of labor: ordinary Japanese men, women, and children, who worked in brutal and dangerous conditions. After 1910, when Japan colonized Korea, Korean workers were brought to Japan to work in the mines. Their situation was even worse than that of the ordinary Japanese worker.

One Japanese woman miner recalled her days in the coal mines during the early Meiji era:

> The miners work several hundred feet underground . . . with only the dim light of a hand-held lamp. . . . If by some good fortune the coal bed is thick and the passage is as much as six feet high, the miner can walk upright, but if the coal bed is shallow and the ceiling is less than four feet high, the miner has to crawl to the pit face, and dig the coal from a squatting position. In extreme cases he has to swing the pick and dig the coal lying on his back. . . . For those who transport the coal out of the mine, the situation is even more difficult. We had to grab a short wooden cane in both hands and crawl on our hands and knees to drag the coal basket out to the bin located in the main tunnel. . . .

From Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1982, p. 230.

Miners emerging from a mine carrying baskets of coal, ca. late 1800s. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

Working in Japan's Coal Mines

The woman who recounts her story here began working in the mines when she was thirteen. Her father had died in the mines when she was ten, during the Russo–Japanese War (1904–1905), so her experiences span both the Meiji and Taishō eras.

> I was born in this mining community. The entire region along the Onga River [in Fukuoka] is mountainous, so most of the girls went into the mines to work. The mines were full of twelve- and thirteen-year-old girls. My father died in the mines when I was ten . . . I went into the mines to work when I was thirteen. . . . The mines were a dangerous place. You were in constant danger of losing your life. A cave-in might occur at any moment. There were times when gas came out. Then a blue ball of fire would shoot through the mines. The sound was loud enough to burst your eardrums. Sometimes the beams and shafts would snap. The ground was rough and you couldn't stand up straight and walk. The passages were narrow, too. Sometimes we had to crawl around, and water was always seeping in. The mine passages were steep . . . and it was hot.
>
> The women's job was to transport the coal that had been mined. The coal was loaded into a 4-foot square wooden box. The bottom of the box had metal runners. We had to pull this box with a

sash over our shoulders. It was hard work. Where it was uphill, there were wooden logs that served as rails to make it easier to pull the box. Going downhill, when the angle of the slope was over thirty degrees, we would get on our hands and knees, grab the log railings firmly, hold back the box with our heads, and slowly crawl down backwards. With a lamp in our mouths and with our heads holding back the box full of coal, we would feel our way down, inch by inch, with the tip of our straw sandals. If you slipped it wouldn't be only you who got hurt because there were others ahead of you. Some of the women had babies on their backs while hauling coal. Since water was dripping all the time, it was slippery. [After they hauled the coal to the coal cart, they had to push a cart full of empty boxes back to where the digging was taking place.] We were really slaves. Lots of people died when the boxes fell off the cart. That was the scariest part of our work. Once a friend of mine was coming down the slope with her daughter. We were going up. All of a sudden the boxes began to tumble down and her daughter was killed. . . .

It was really hard to get a loaded coal box moving. We'd push it with our heads and our rears. After struggling hard and pushing the box for hundreds of yards, we were paid 8.5 sen. . . . With both my husband and me working, we made 30 to 40 sen a day. One *sho* [.48 U.S. gallons] of rice cost 12 to 13 sen then. We used to work twelve or thirteen hours [at a time]. Sometimes they would arbitrarily deduct one box from our work. . . . But we had to accept that. If we uttered a single word of complaint we would be beaten within an inch of death. There used to be a saying that went, "Complain and you'll get a club on your back. Your towel will be dyed with blood.". . .

My first husband was killed by a runaway coal cart. . . . That was in 1923. They gave me 200 yen as compensation. That was more than what most mines paid. At another mine, five of my cousins from the same family went into the mines, and all five were killed. . . . At that time the family got 50 yen per person. Capitalists are really ruthless people. My father died [in the mines] at the time of the Russo–Japanese War. We got 5 yen then. . . .

I raised my children while working in the mines. It was really rough going into the mines then. I would get up at two o'clock in the morning and quietly prepare breakfast. . . . I would then wake my child up when it was still dark. The child would rub his eyes and complain. I would yell at him and take him to the nursery. . . . They used to take care of him for 8 sen a day. I would leave him there, wondering if I would ever see him again. . . . "Will today be the day he is going to lose his parents?" I would wonder. So I was able to see my children only at night. . . . We didn't have any futon for bedding. Three out of ten families had no futon. The shack consisted of one 4-1/2 mat room and a 6-mat room.[3] There were no sliding doors or screens. There was a 3-foot-wide dirt-floor opening by the entrance. A straw mat served as a curtain. It was really a pathetic place. But when my father was young, he told us, not only was there no straw mat by the entrance, the shack had no walls at all. There were only four poles holding up a grass roof. Of course, there were no mats on the floor. They burned firewood and cut a hole in the roof to let the smoke out . . . and slept on the dirt floor. . . . When we fell heavily in debt, we would sneak away at night, taking our children by their hands. . . . Even when we didn't want any more children, they kept coming. There was nothing we could do about that. Even if we spent nothing on the baby, we at least had to pay the midwife. So we fell into debt. They didn't give us any compensation worth speaking of, even if we got injured. So we would quietly get ready and sneak away.

From Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*. New York, NY, Pantheon Books, 1982, pp. 233–235.

Activity: The Textile Workers

The image that follows is a woodblock print depicting a silk-reeling factory in Tōkyō in 1872. Analyze the image using the steps below:

1. Look at the image carefully for two minutes to form an overall impression.
2. Divide the image into three sections in your mind's eye and study each section intently to

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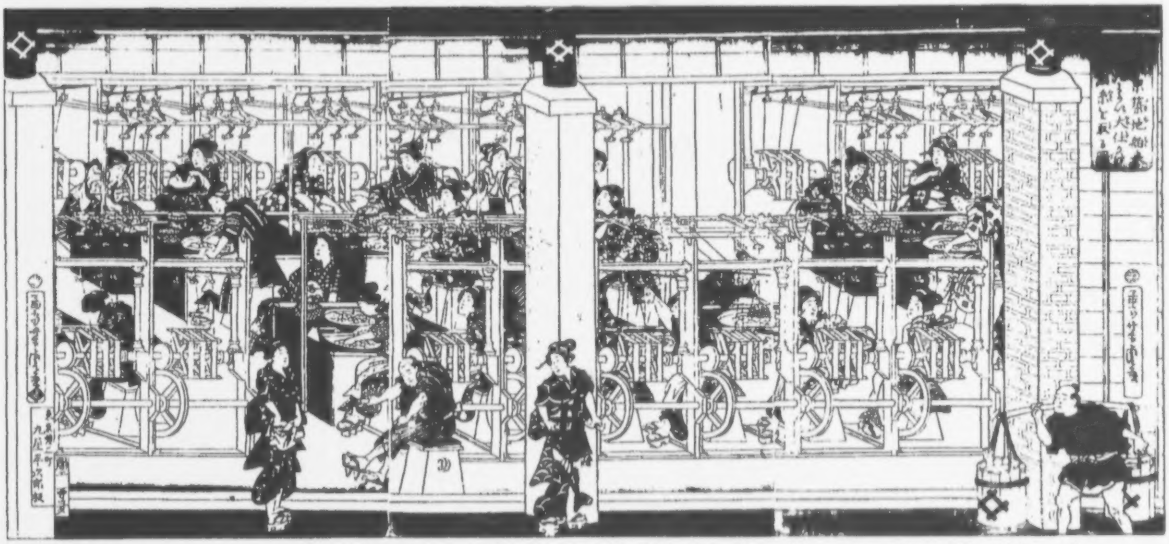
[3] Tatami mats measure about three feet by six feet. Room size in Japan was and is measured by how many mats it takes to cover the floor.



Woodblock print image of a silk-reeling factory. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1959. Photograph by Otto E. Nelson. Photograph © 1986 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (JP 3346).

see what new details become visible. (If you look carefully, you can see that this print is divided into three panels.)

3. Fold a piece of paper into four sections and label it as shown here:

content	context
inferences	questions

4. Look at the print again and jot comments in each section of your paper.

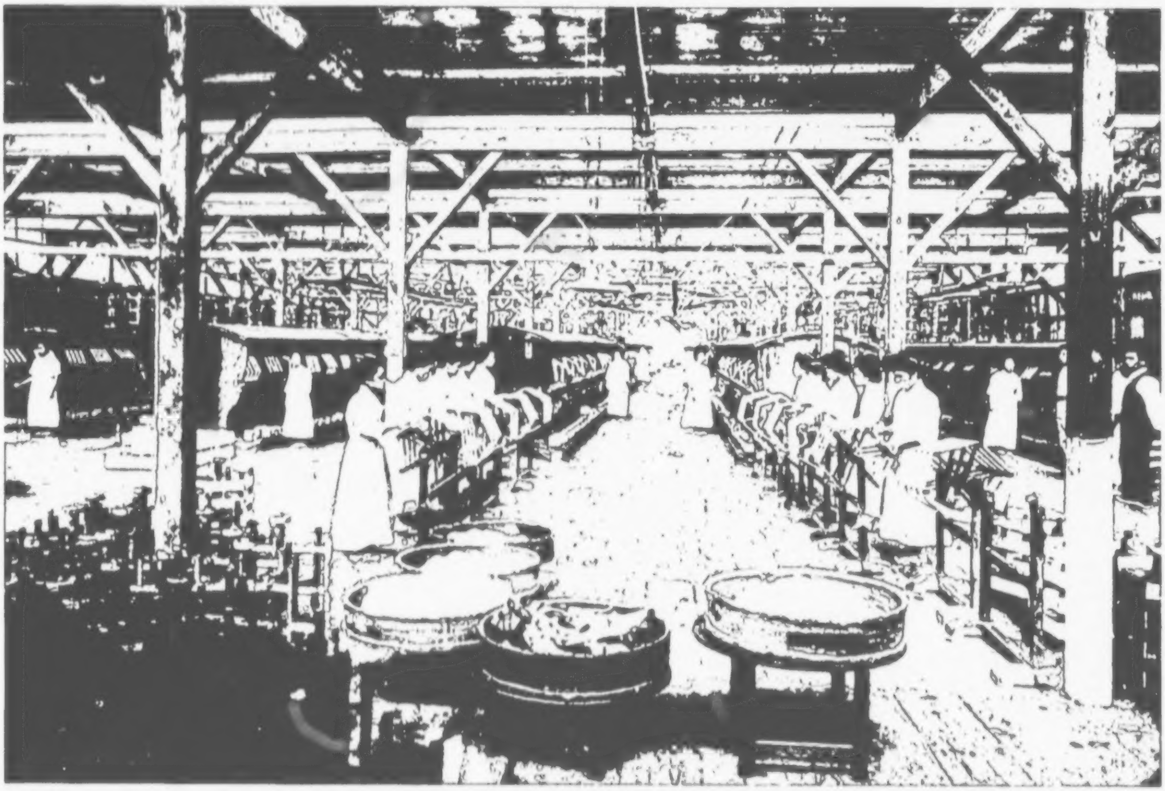
   a. Note the **content** of the image. Describe what you see. What does the image depict?
   b. Consider the historical **context** of the image. When do you think it was created? Why do you think it might have been created?
   c. Write any **inferences** that occur to you as you look at the image. What might this image tell you about life in a silk-reeling factory in Meiji Japan? For example, does it seem to have been a pleasant place to work? Why or why not?
   d. Write any **questions** you have about the image.
   e. Discuss your analysis of the image with the class.
   f. Keep your notes in a safe place. You will need them to finish this activity later.

Life in the Thread Mills

As Japan modernized, it sought to increase its production of textiles, both silk and cotton. Silk was important because, along with tea, it was Japan's major export during the Meiji era. By the end of the Meiji period, a fourth of the world's cotton yarn came from Japan.

In the 1870s most of Japan's silk-reeling mills were operated by daughters of former samurai whose families had fallen on hard times. Conditions in these early silk mills, although not ideal by today's standards, were generally good. But by the 1880s and 1890s these conditions had become only a happy memory.

In the 1880s, as Japan's textile industry expanded, a huge new labor force was needed to keep its silk mills and its new cotton mills running day and night. This labor force was not drawn from the ranks of former samurai families but from daughters of the urban and rural poor. Young girls,



Workers at the Okazaki Silk Thread Factory, ca. 1897. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

some as young as eight or nine, most from farming communities, made up most of the labor force in both silk-reeling and cotton-spinning factories. Wages were poor and working conditions miserable.

Factory girls were bound by contract to work in the mills for a fixed length of time in exchange for a sum of money advanced to their parents. Peasant families sent their daughters to work because it meant instant money for crucial needs and one less mouth to feed at home, as a woman who went to work as an eleven-year-old explained:

> I worked for one year and got 1 yen. In the old days we were sent out to reduce the number of people who had to be fed at home, so we didn't complain about the pay. We could eat rice, and that alone made it better than staying home.

From Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan.* New York, NY, Pantheon Books, 1982, p. 176.

Girls in the textile mills were urged to be like soldiers, working for the good of the nation, as this verse from a song of the time period illustrates:

> Put all your strength into your work.
> It is for yourself,
> It is for your family,
> It is for the country of Japan.

From E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 93.

Most factory girls were working for their families. They were paid poorly because money was deducted for their meals and for the advance paid to their parents. They lived in dirty, cramped company dormitories and worked in dirty, cramped, and often dangerous factories where nothing could be heard over the roar of the machines. Physical and sexual abuse were common; death rates from tuberculosis and beriberi, a disease

Silk-pullers, pulling and reeling thread from cocoons, ca. 1890s. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

caused by a lack of vitamin B, were high. Yet girls stayed in the mills because the money they sent home was often more than their "water-drinking peasant" parents could earn in a year.

"Song of the Living Corpses"

One way girls coped with their lives in the factories was to make up poems or songs. This song, "Song of the Living Corpses," was sung by girls working in a cotton mill. It is part of a much longer song that dates to the late Meiji period.

> My family was poor,
> At the tender age of twelve
> I was sold to a factory.
> Yet though I work for cheap wages,
> My soul is not soiled.
> Like the lotus flower in the midst of mud,*
> My heart too
> Will one day blossom forth.
> I was carried away by sweet-sounding words.
> My money was stolen and thrown away.
> Unaware of the hardships of the future,
> I was duckweed in the wind.
>
> Excited I arrived at the gate,
> Where I bowed to the doorman,
> I was taken immediately to the dormitory,
> Where I bowed to the room supervisor.
> I was taken immediately to the infirmary,
> Where I risked my life having a medical examination.
> I was taken immediately to the cafeteria,
> Where I asked what was for dinner.
> I was told it was low-grade rice mixed with sand.
>
> When I asked what the side dish was,
> I was told there weren't even two slices of pickle to eat.
> Then I was taken immediately to the factory,
> Where I donned a blue skirt and blue shirt,
> And put on hemp-straw sandals and blue socks.
> When I asked where I was to work
> I was told to fasten threads on the winder.

---

* The lotus is a beautiful flower that grows in mud.

Because my parents were good-for-nothings,
Or because my parents weren't good-for-nothings
But I was a good-for-nothing myself,
I was deceived by a fox without a tail.**
Now I'm awakened at four-thirty in the morning;
First I fix my face, then go to the cafeteria;
Then it's off to the factory
Where the chief engineer scowls at me.

When I return to my room,
The supervisor finds all manner of fault with me,
And I feel like I'll never get on in this world.
When next I'm paid
I'll trick the doorkeeper and slip off to the station,
Board the first train
For my dear parents' home.
Both will cry when I tell them
How fate made me learn warping,***
Leaving nothing but skin and bone on my soul.

We friends are wretched,
Separated from our homes in a strange place,
Put in a miserable dormitory
Woken [sic] at four-thirty in the morning,
Eating when five o'clock sounds,
Dressing at the third bell,
Glared at by the manager and section head,
Used by the inspector.
How wretched we are!

Though I am a factory maid,
My heart is a peony, a cherry in double blossom.
Though male workers make eyes at me,
I'm not the kind to respond.
Rather than remain in this factory,
I'll pluck up my courage,
And board the first train for Ogawa;
Maybe I'll even go to the far corners of Manchuria.

From E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1990, pp. 157–58.

Questions

1. Why is the singer of this song working in this cotton-spinning factory?
2. How does she feel about her parents?
3. The singer hints that the factory is not too far from the railroad station. Why doesn't she just run away?
4. As difficult as life was in the textile factories, it was considered better than being sold into prostitution or returning to work on the family farm. Why do you think this was so?

Activity: The Textile Workers (continued)

1. Retrieve your notes analyzing the woodblock print of the silk mill.
2. Use your notes to compare the conditions depicted in the silk mill in the woodblock print with those described in the song about the living corpses, which was sung in the cotton mills. Why were the working conditions depicted in the print so different from those described in the song?
3. Look carefully at the two photographs of the silk workers. Why might the working conditions depicted in the photographs be so different from those described in the song?
4. When historical sources contradict each other, what are some of the steps to take to decide which ones are "true"?
5. In your opinion, which of the sources, the woodblock print, the photographs, or the song, provide the most accurate account of life in the thread mills of Meiji Japan? Explain your response.
6. If you found two contradictory accounts of life in the same cotton mill in 1897, one written by the mill owner and one by a factory girl, which one would you believe? Why?

Activity: Writing a Letter

The Meiji government started Japan's national postal service in 1871 to replace a system of

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** The fox is a cunning deceiver in Japanese folklore.
*** The warp is the set of threads placed lengthwise in a loom.

private couriers. Mail service became available at reasonable rates. Mailboxes and stamp booths were installed all over the country. Mail was delivered at regular times each day.

In 1872 the Meiji government made schooling compulsory. Children had to go to school for four years. At first the school year lasted about four months; later it was extended to eight months or even longer. Although some parents did not want to send their children, particularly their daughters, to school, the compulsory education system soon resulted in a high literacy rate. That is, most people were able to read and write well enough to manage their everyday affairs, including writing letters. Those who could not write often paid a small fee to someone to write a letter for them.

You will be assigned one of the following roles:

- a member of the *genrō*
- a peasant farmer
- a soldier
- a textile worker
- a coal miner

1. Review your notes and the parts of this section that have information about your role. The illustrations may also help you. The soldier and the *genrō* member should review Chapter 1, Section 2, for information about their roles.
2. It is the year 1895. Write a letter to someone from the perspective of your character, telling about yourself and your life. You may include details of your character's life that are not in the readings (for example, the peasant farmer might say his son was drafted into the army), but the details must be historically plausible. Your letter should be about a page long, around 250 words.
3. Form a group with other students who have the same role. Read your letters to each other. (Do not embellish your reading with an accent.)
4. Choose the best letter in your group. The students who wrote the best letters in each group will read their letters to the class. Read with liveliness.
5. Keep your letter in a safe place. You will need it for the next activity.

Activity: Role-Playing

1. Reread your letter to yourself. Seventeen years have gone by since you wrote it. It is now 1912. The Emperor Meiji has just died. Japan is in mourning. You are thinking about the emperor and all the changes that took place in Japan during his reign. You are thinking about your own life and all the changes during the Meiji era and how those changes affected you and your family.
2. After you reread your letter, write your responses to the questions below from the perspective of your character in 1912. Respond to each question as fully as you can. Write each response on a separate sheet of paper.

   a. Explain how Japan's decision to build a rich nation and a strong army affected you and your family for good or ill.
   b. Regardless of your own experiences, explain whether you now think the decision to build Japan as a nation, to modernize, to fend off foreign threats, and to become a world power was worth the human cost. Give reasons for your opinion.

3. Meet in groups of three or four students who have the same role. Read your responses to questions a. and b. aloud and discuss them. As you listen, add to your responses on the proper sheet. By the end of the discussion you should have more ideas about how your character might have responded to the questions.
4. Take a few minutes to look over the questions again, along with your responses and those you added in the group. You will use this information (without reading it) in the next part of this activity.
5. Meet with your original group of students who have the same role. All the soldiers should be together, all the coals miners, and so on.
6. As a group, write a "prompt" for your character. This is a conversation starter that you will need for the next part of this activity. Your character's prompt is an expression about how he or she feels about Japan's rapid modernization. Here is a made-up example of a prompt written by a fictional historian in 1968,

a hundred years after the Meiji Restoration. (Yours does not need to be this long.)

> The modernization of Japan has sometimes been called 'a cruel choice.' Japan had to decide whether to modernize quickly, regardless of the cost to its people, or risk ending up like other countries that were slow to modernize—countries like China, which suffered for years from foreign domination. Of course, individual Japanese paid a high price for modernization, but I think the costs were worth it; it saved Japan from the plight of its neighbors, and it both created and sustained what we know now as the nation of Japan.

7. Form groups of five with a member of the *genrō*, a farmer, a soldier, a textile worker, and a coal miner in each group.
8. One person begins by reading the "prompt" for his or her character. The other four people will respond to that prompt as their characters. Then another person will read his or her prompt, and again everyone will respond. Your group will have three minutes to respond to each prompt. Every person must respond to every prompt. Afterward, anyone who wishes can respond to comments made by another character.
9. After everyone has responded to the last prompt, go around the group for one last comment from every group member.

Debriefing

Discuss these questions as a class:

a. Could a group discussion similar to this role-play ever have happened in Japan in 1912? Why or why not?
b. Did group members have differences of opinion about the value of modernization? What were the differences based on?
c. Japan's rapid modernization during the Meiji era has been called "a cruel choice." Why? What choice did Japan have to make during the Meiji era?
d. If you had been a policy maker during the Meiji era, would you, like most of those in power, have opted for modernization? Why or why not?
e. Looking back from the perspective of 1912, do you think Japan made the right choice when it decided to modernize, regardless of the cost? Why or why not?
f. Looking back from the perspective of today, do you think Japan made the right choice when it decided to modernize during the Meiji era? Do you think the benefits of rapid modernization outweighed its costs? Why or why not?

Extension Activities

1. A few years before the end of the Meiji period in Japan, a photographer named Lewis W. Hine was hired by the National Child Labor Committee to document working conditions for children in the United States. Hine visited the southern and eastern states in 1907 taking many photos of children working in canneries, mills, factories, mines, and fields. Locate Hine's photos. Use them to describe to your classmates the experiences of child workers in the United States at the turn of the century. Compare the experiences of child laborers in the United States with those of child workers in Japan in the same period.
2. Report on the rules governing child labor in your state today. How old must someone be to obtain a work permit? What kind of restrictions are imposed on minors who work? Do you think that the laws written in the past to protect underage workers are still needed today? Explain your opinion.
3. The video *Rich Country, Strong Military: The Meiji Transformation* (Lincoln, NE: University of Mid-America: Great Plains National Instructional Television Library, 1978) explains how Japan became a major world power during the Meiji period. Watch the video and then write a critical review of it. Present the review orally in class. Tell your classmates whether you think they should watch the video and explain why you would or would not recommend it.
4. Although life during the Meiji era could be difficult, especially for the poor, and

particularly by today's standards, people did not necessarily live in unremitting misery. There were many other aspects of life in Meiji Japan besides keeping body and soul together. People married, had children, and joined in festivals and religious rituals. Children went to school, played games, and shared in the lives of their families and communities. Yanagida Kunio describes these life activities in his book *Japanese Manners and Customs of the Meiji Era* (Tōkyō: Ōbunsha, 1957). Look at the book's table of contents. Then choose one aspect of life during the Meiji era that especially interests you. Prepare an oral report to share with your classmates.

5. Prepare a brief biographical profile of one of the members of the *genrō. The Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese Culture*, compiled by Janet Hunter (Berkeley, CA and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1984) and *Modern Japan: An Encyclopedia of History, Culture, and Nationalism*, edited by James Huffman (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), are good references to start with and may refer you to other sources.
6. Photography was introduced to Japan in the nineteenth century. Both foreigners and Japanese tried to capture the time period in formal portraits taken in studios and in outdoor shots. Several collections of photographs have been published in the books listed below. Select one of these books. Prepare a presentation on the images in the book, explaining what they convey about Meiji Japan. Illustrate your presentation with examples. *Early Japanese Images* by Terry Bennet (Tōkyō and Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1996). *Japan: Caught in Time*, by Hugh Cortazzi and Terry Bennett. (Reading, United Kingdom: Garnet Publishing Ltd., 1995). *Japan: E. S. Morse Collection* (Tōkyō: Shogakukan: 1983). *Japan: Photographs, 1854–1905*, edited by Clark Worswick (New York, NY: Penwick Publishing, 1979). *Once Upon a Time: Visions of Old Japan*, translated by Linda Coverdale (New York, NY: Friendly Press, 1986). *Souvenirs from Japan: Japanese Photography at the Turn of the Century*, by Margarita Winkel. (London: Bamboo Publishing Ltd., 1991). *A Timely Encounter: Nineteenth-Century Photographs of Japan*, edited by Melissa Banta and Susan Taylor (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, and Wellesley, MA, Wellesley College Museum, 1988).

Further Reading

Hane, Mikiso. *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Hane, Mikiso. *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988

Nagatsuka Takashi. *The Soil: A Portrait of Rural Life in Meiji Japan*. London: Routledge, 1989. Translated by Ann Waswo.

Shibusawa, Keizo. *Japanese Life and Culture in the Meiji Era*. Tōkyō: Ōbunsha, 1958. Translated by Charles S. Terry.

Tsurumi, Patricia E. *Factory Girls, Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Yanagida, Kunio. *Japanese Manners and Customs in the Meiji Era*. Tōkyō: Ōbunsha: 1957. Translated by Charles S. Terry.

2
Chapter

Modernization, Crisis, and War, 1912 to 1945

The first section of this chapter looks at how the rapidly modernizing economy during the Taishō and Shōwa periods ushered in new ways of living and foreign ideologies that challenged Japanese tradition, especially in the cities.

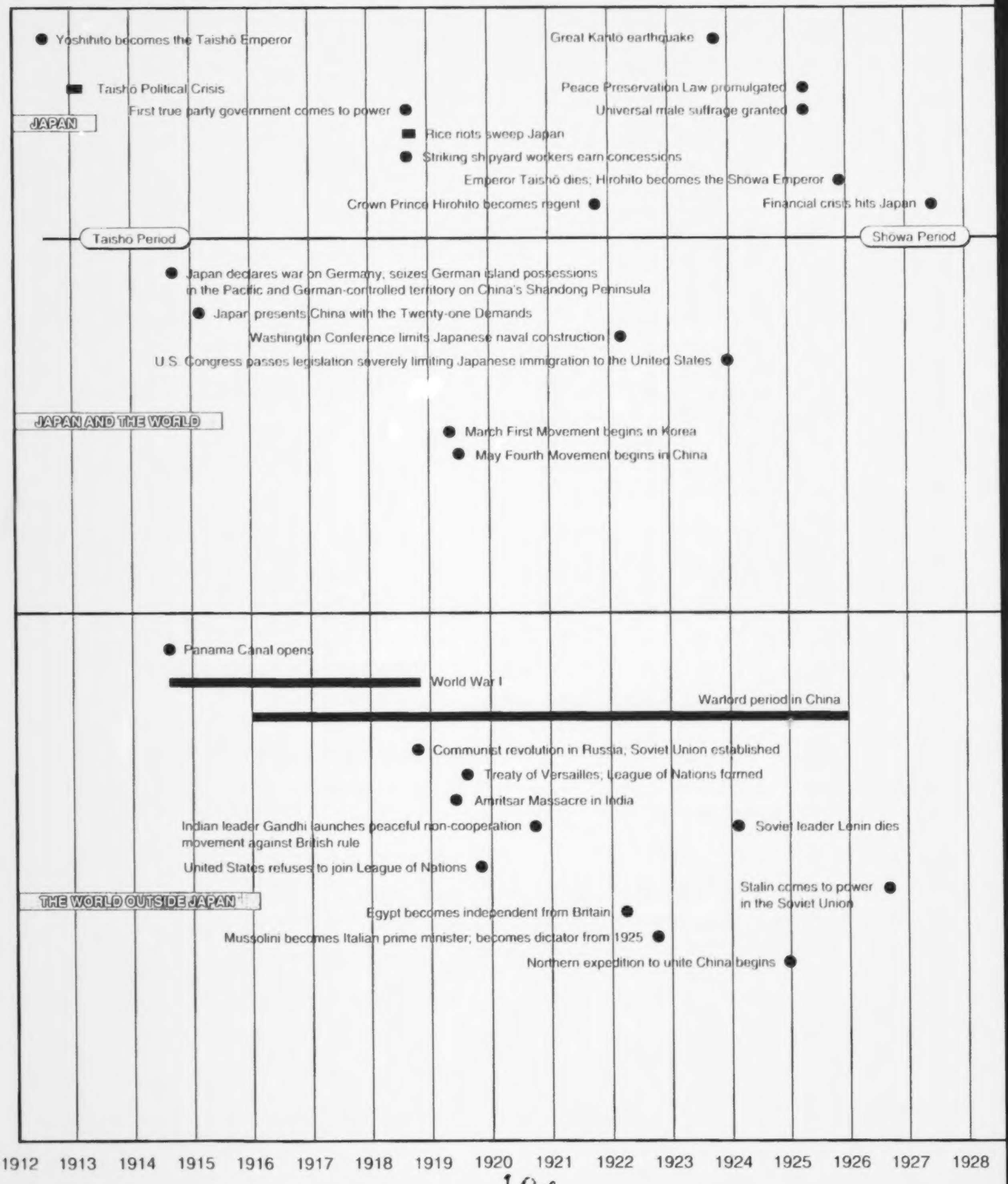
Section 2 looks at how ultranationalists in military, with widespread popular support, exploited dire economic conditions in the early 1930s to expand Japan's imperial boundaries, take control of the government, and start Japan on the road to war.

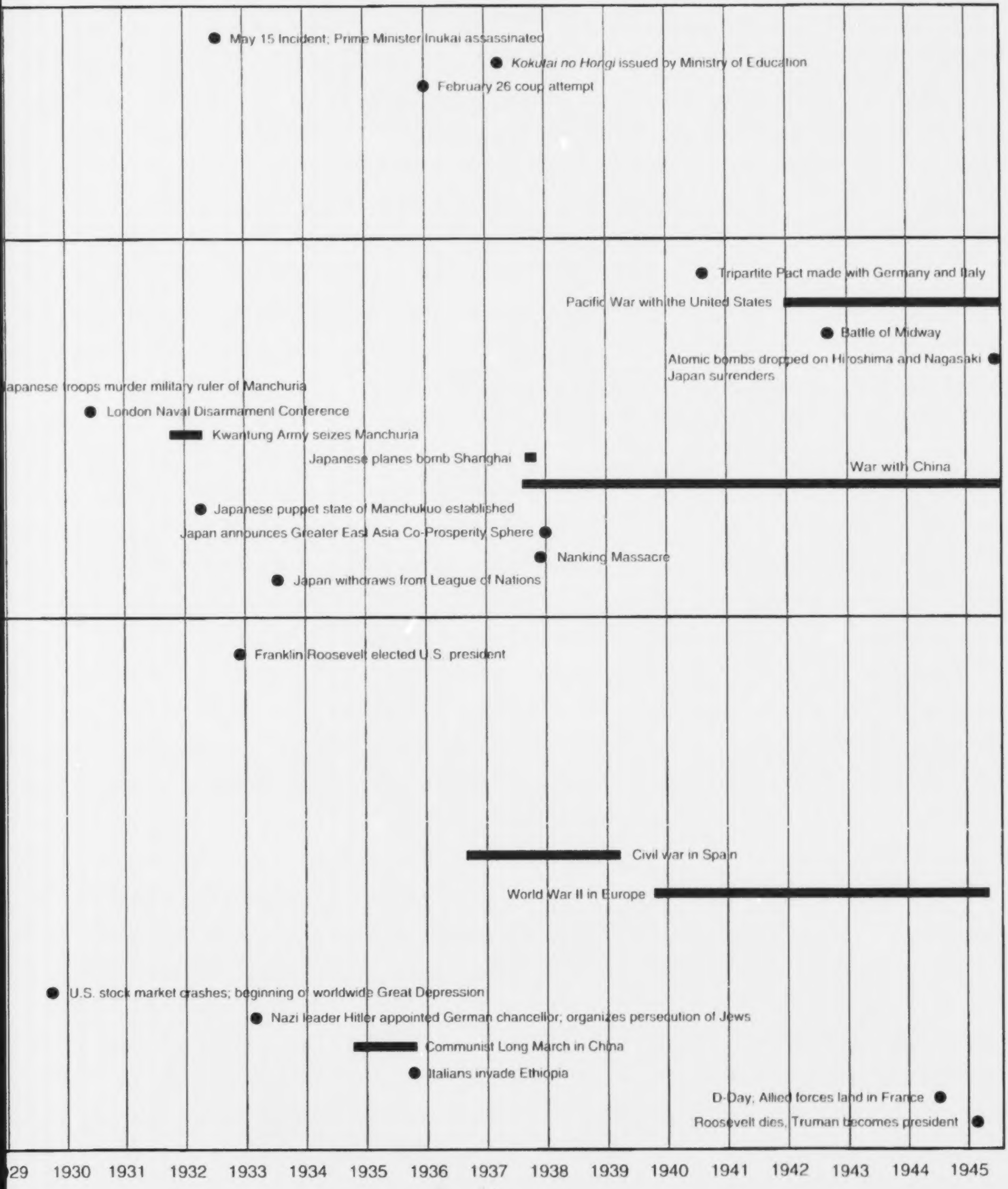
The last section discusses Japan's involvement in the war in Asia and the Pacific, beginning with the outbreak of fighting in China in 1937, and ending with Japan's surrender aboard the USS *Missouri* in 1945. The section explores what the war meant to various segments of the Japanese population.

Sections

1. Taishō: Challenging Authority and Tradition, 1912–1926
2. Shōwa: Economic Crisis and the Rise of Militarism, 1926–1937
3. Japan in World War II, 1937–1945

Modernization, Crisis, and War, 1912 to 1945




May 15 Incident; Prime Minister Inukai assassinated
Kokutai no Hongi issued by Ministry of Education
February 26 coup attempt
Tripartite Pact made with Germany and Italy
Pacific War with the United States
Battle of Midway
Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
Japan surrenders
apanese troops murder military ruler of Manchuria
London Naval Disarmament Conference
Kwantung Army seizes Manchuria
Japanese planes bomb Shanghai
War with China
Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo established
Japan announces Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere
Nanking Massacre
Japan withdraws from League of Nations
Franklin Roosevelt elected U.S. president
Civil war in Spain
World War II in Europe
U.S. stock market crashes; beginning of worldwide Great Depression
Nazi leader Hitler appointed German chancellor; organizes persecution of Jews
Communist Long March in China
Italians invade Ethiopia
D-Day; Allied forces land in France
Roosevelt dies, Truman becomes president
29
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
1941
1942
1943
1944
1945

Section 1

Taishō: Challenging Authority and Tradition, 1912–1926

During the nineteenth century, Meiji leaders had set out to create a rich, strong, and modern nation. By the beginning of the Taishō period Japan had made astonishing progress toward its goal. The economy was growing dramatically, and Japan's stunning defeat of Russia in 1905 and its seizure of Korea in 1910 had established it as a major international power. But its impressive progress brought new problems. With modernization came not only new ways of living that challenged traditional Japanese beliefs but also foreign ideologies that affected how Japanese viewed their role in society. In this section we examine the growing diversity in Japanese society during the Taishō period and the ways in which the people began demanding a greater say in how their government and economy operated.

Changes in the Economy

Following the Russo–Japanese War in 1905, the Japanese economy continued to grow impressively as a handful of powerful industrial and commercial conglomerates, called *zaibatsu*, spurred economic

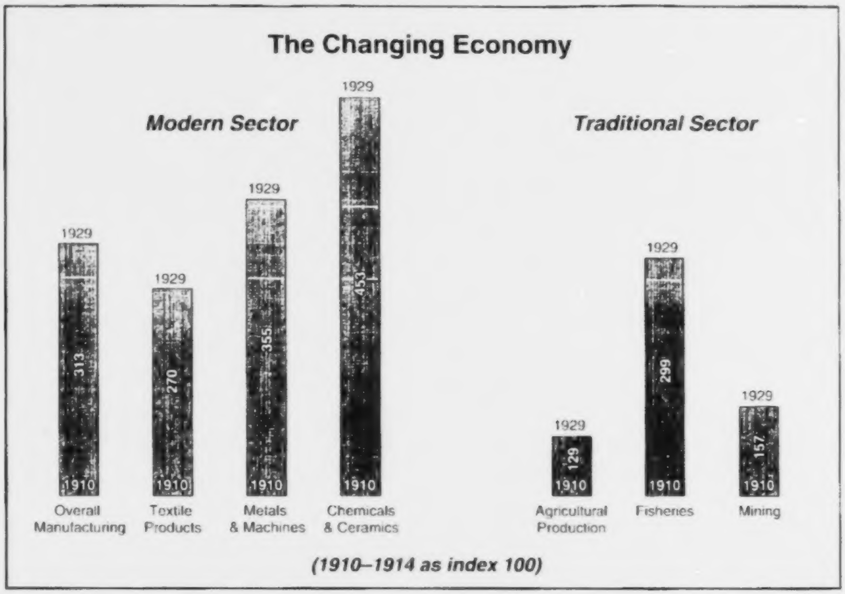
The Taishō Emperor 1879–1926

Yoshihito, the third son of the emperor Meiji, ascended to the Chrysanthemum Throne in July 1912, becoming the 123rd Japanese emperor. Unlike his father, who had been active in national affairs, Yoshihito, because of poor physical and mental health, lived in seclusion for much of his reign. While he was growing up, the imperial household tried to keep Yoshihito's mental condition hidden from the government and the public. Despite his physical and mental frailty, Yoshihito as crown prince did make brief, carefully managed public appearances from time to time.

However, his official Shintō coronation ceremonies in 1915 proved so stressful for the young emperor that he apparently suffered a devastating breakdown from which he never fully recovered. As his condition worsened, the government was forced to act. In 1921 officials appointed one of Yoshihito's sons, the crown prince Hirohito, a bright and talented young man of twenty, to serve as regent to his father. In 1926 Yoshihito died and Hirohito became emperor, marking the beginning of the Shōwa period.

The Taishō emperor wearing the Order of the Garter received from the King of England, 1912.

From A Century of Japanese Photography *by the Japan Photographers Association. New York: Random House Inc., 1980, p. 97.*



Data from Mikiso Hane, Modern Japan: A Historical Survey. *Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992, p. 206.*

growth. Most *zaibatsu* had started as family-owned operations during the Meiji period or earlier, but with the active support of the government they amassed extensive holdings and came to dominate the modern sector of Japan's economy during Taishō. Mitsui, the largest of the *zaibatsu,* was engaged in mining, forestry, machinery, metals, banking, shipping, textiles, and more. Many political leaders believed that promoting the *zaibatsu* would help to modernize and strengthen the nation. This strategy did prove effective for achieving rapid industrial growth. But not all of Japan's economy enjoyed the same growth rate.

Activity: A Changing Economy

The graphs above growth in industrial production, or the modern sector of the economy, and in the traditional sector of the economy—agriculture, fishing, and mining—for the years 1910–1929. After studying the graphs, answer the questions that follow.

Questions

1. From the graphs, what conclusions can you draw about growth in the traditional and modern sectors of the economy between 1910 and 1929?
2. Where do you think the modern sector of the economy and the traditional sector of the economy were centered?

Activity: Changes in Population

You will need a sheet of graph paper and the handout "A Shifting Population" to complete the following.

As Japan's economy boomed, so did its population. And the emergence of a dual economy—with both modern and traditional sectors—affected where people lived.

1. On graph paper plot the population of Japan in millions from 1900 to 1945.

1900	44.826	1925	59.737
1905	47.678	1930	64.450
1910	50.985	1935	69.254
1915	54.936	1940	73.114
1920	55.963	1945	71.998

2. On the handout "A Shifting Population" make a bar graph from the population distribution statistics for the years 1903, 1920, and 1935 as shown on the next page.
3. Color-code the bars using one color for the 1903 figures, another for the 1920 figures, and a third for the 1935 figures.

Ōsaka steelworkers demonstrate, 1921. An economic depression devastated workers, and the labor movement grew throughout the early and mid-1920s. Labor activists organized strikes and pushed for such measures as a minimum-wage law, an eight-hour workday, and solutions to the unemployment problem. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985,* v. 2, p. 151.

1903

Population of Communities	Percentage of Total Population
under 2,000	9.8
2000–4,999	51.8
5000–9,999	17.7
10,000–19,999	5.1
20,000–49,999	4.1
50,00–99,9999	2.2
over 100,000	9.2

1920

Population of Communities	Percentage of Total Population
under 2000	6.5
2000–4,999	37.7
5000–9,999	19.2
10,000–19,999	8.8
20,000–49,999	7.4
50,000–99,999	5.8
over 100,000	14.6

1935

Population of Communities	Percentage of Total Population
under 2,000	5.0
2,000–4,999	30.5
5,000–9,999	18.7
10,000–19,999	9.0
20,000–49,999	6.1
50,000–99,999	5.3
over 100,000	25.4

Source: *The Japan Yearbook, 1941/42*. Tōkyō: The Foreign Affairs Association of Japan.

4. From your completed bar graph, answer these questions:

   a. Between 1903 and 1935, communities of what size gained most as a percentage of the total population?
   b. Between 1903 and 1935, communities of what size lost most as a percentage of the total population?
   c. What percentage of the population lived in communities under 10,000 people in 1903? In 1920? In 1935?
   d. What conclusions can you draw about where Japanese people lived between 1903 and 1935?
   e. Between 1905 and 1935, by how many people did Japan's population increase? Where did most of this population growth occur?
   f. What might explain the growing percentage of people living in larger communities?

Workers Demand More Rights

Japan's people kept flocking to the cities throughout the first half of the 1900s. Life in a farm family during these decades could mean poverty, even with year after year of backbreaking work. Toiling in their fields from sunrise to sunset, few farmers harbored dreams of a better future for themselves or their families. With little chance of improving their lives on their little farms, many moved to the cities. Lured by the prospect of working in a factory and earning a steady wage, many left friends and family behind and headed off to Japan's burgeoning towns and cities. But as many discovered, factory work could be as miserable as the field work they had left behind.

Because Japan's population grew rapidly and its people kept migrating to industrial areas, competition for factory jobs in the cities became acute. This worked to the advantage of the *zaibatsu*, as well as smaller industries, who could tap a huge pool of cheap labor to work in their factories. The number of industrial workers mounted as the modern sector of the economy flourished. But the workers' lives improved little because Japan's leaders were preoccupied with strengthening the nation by increasing its wealth through industrial production, not with improving the workers' welfare. So factory laborers worked long hours under poor conditions for low pay, knowing that if they complained too much their employers could easily replace them.

Unable to get support from prominent politicians, many of whom enjoyed close ties with business leaders, workers began to form unions to fight for their rights. Labor leaders in the early decades of the century were harassed by the government, who accused them of being unpatriotic and anticapitalist.

The government sought to keep dissatisfied workers from disrupting factory operations by passing laws that restricted union activities and prohibited strikes. But despite the government's efforts to suppress them, strikes in the country swelled steadily throughout the Taishō period. In 1919, over 63,000 workers joined in 497 strikes. Unions did force some heavy industries to institute an eight-hour workday for male workers, but progress on improving conditions for workers proved frustratingly slow.

In response, some union leaders became militant in the face of government and business intransigence. These militants, angered by the slow pace of change, began challenging union moderates for control of unions. Most union leaders—militant and moderate alike—believed meaningful improvements in workers' lives could be achieved only by changing the labor laws. The unions then made it their goal to elect reform candidates to the Diet. But first the limitations on voting rights, which allowed only a small fraction of men to vote, had to be lifted. Therefore unions pressed hard for universal manhood suffrage. They believed that if all men over the age of majority, twenty, got the right to vote, the government could be pressured into making labor reforms.

Activity: Labor Becomes More Militant

The Yuaikai (Friendship Association), established in 1912, declared itself a labor group committed to fostering better relations between workers and management through exchanging ideas and mutual aid. But by 1924 this apparently moderate group had transformed itself into Sodomei (Japanese Federation of Labor), a large and militant labor union. Read the excerpts about the Yuaikai and Sodomei and answer the questions that follow.

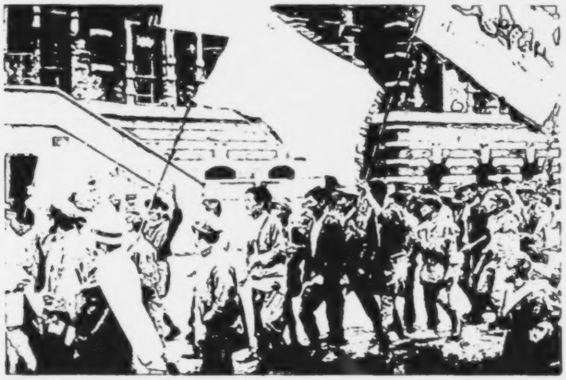
Basic Principles Governing Yuaikai, 1912

1. We shall maintain friendly relations with each other and assist each other with a unity of spirit, in order to fulfill our basic objectives of benevolence and mutual help.
2. We shall follow the ideals, commonly held by humanity, and endeavor to develop knowledge, nurture virtue, and advance technology.
3. Through the power of cooperation, we shall find a practical and steady means of improving our positions.

The Position of Yuaikai, 1912

. . . Some capitalists seem to entertain false notions concerning the purpose of our organization, and have spread to the police officers rumors that we are an organization established to incite workers. We are surprised by this. In some extreme cases, some employers threatened some of their blue collar workers when they were joining our association, by saying that "the association is a socialist organization." . . .

The age of workers being the slaves of capitalists has passed. We may be called workers, but we are independent people, and like others are beloved subjects of his majesty, the Emperor. When our health is not good, education poor, and skills



Demonstration in the streets led by Yuaikai, 1919. From A Century of Japanese Photography *by Japan Photographers Association. New York: Random House, Inc., 1980, p. 291.*

do not progress, can patriotic people remain silent of these shortcomings? . . .

We workers are "sons of men" and in that respect we are not different from capitalists. Is there anything wrong in our attempt to extend a bridge of understanding between the "sons of men" to promote kindness, friendship, communication and harmony? How can one say that our action is against humanitarian principles?

Basic Principles of Sodomei, 1924
(Japanese Federation of Labor)

1. We shall endeavor to impose our economic well-being and increase our knowledge, through the power of the organization and through the groups established to promote mutual aid.
2. With resolute courage and effective tactics, we shall engage in an all-out war against the oppression of the capitalist class.
3. We firmly believe that the working class and capitalist class cannot exist side by side. Through the power of labor unions, we shall endeavor to build a new society in which the working class is completely liberated and where freedom and equality exist.

Sodomei Declaration, 1924

. . . We are now at the threshold of turning the labor union movement of a small number of people into a movement for the masses. Frankly, we cannot expect the full liberation by a Diet dominated by the bourgeoisie. We must plan for the development of labor unions in our country by the following means: after the implementation of universal suffrage, we must use our rights to vote effectively and thus gain partial political advantages; we must promote political awakening among the proletariat [a socialist and Communist term meaning factory worker]; and we must find ways and means of promoting our goals through participation in international labor conferences. . . . We hereby pledge that, regardless of whatever tactics we may take in accordance with practical consideration, we do not deviate from the basic principle of liberation of the proletariat.

From David John Lu, ed., *Japan: A Documentary History*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1997, pp. 390–392.

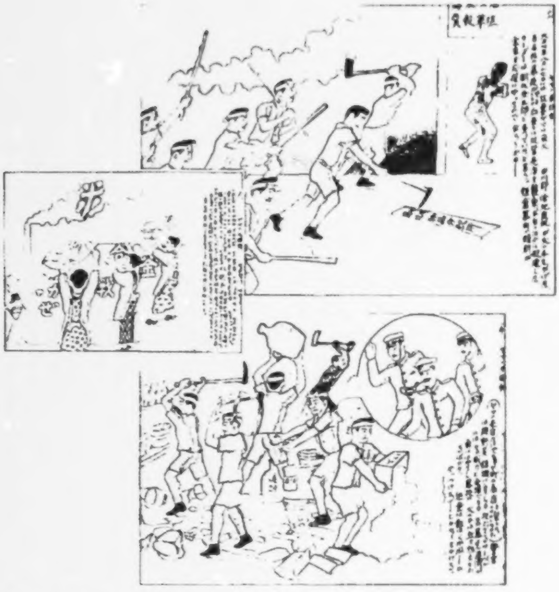
Questions

1. According to the "Basic Principles Governing Yuaikai, 1912," what should have been the relationship between workers and capitalists?
2. In "The Position of Yuaikai, 1912" what did the union feel it had been unfairly accused of?
3. According to "The Position of Yuaikai, 1912," what was the bond that tied capitalists and workers together?
4. According to "Basic Principles of Sodomei [formerly Yuaikai], 1924," what was the relationship between workers and capitalists?
5. How did the 1924 excerpt say the union could achieve its goals through political means?
6. Why do you suppose the union became so radical?

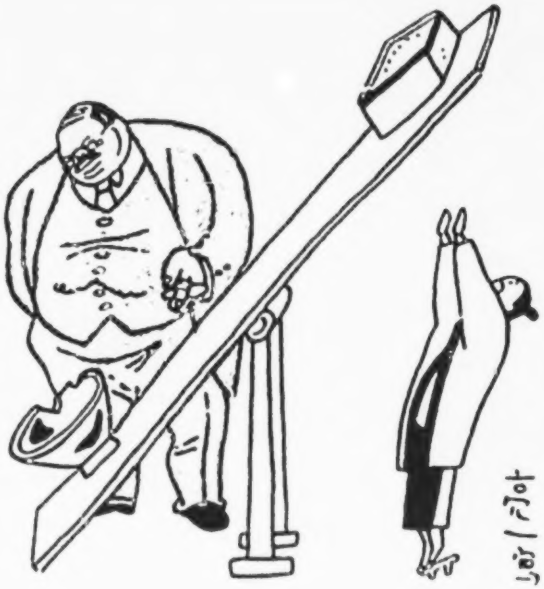
The Rice Riots of 1918

The close government–*zaibatsu* relationship was, in fact, making Japan a wealthy nation. But not all segments of society prospered. Government economic policies favoring *zaibatsu* and business growth concentrated wealth in a relatively small urban business and professional class but kept most Japanese at a low standard of living.

Unfortunately, the close ties between government and business also fostered widespread corruption. Businessmen often made large campaign contributions to friendly politicians in return for



In late August 1918, riots erupted in 24 mines throughout Kyūshū. Mine workers burned and destroyed offices, storehouses, and other buildings associated with the merchants who they believed were ignoring their plight. The painting shows the impending confrontation between laborers and the army at the Tagawa Mines, which belonged to the Mitsui zaibatsu. *Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From* Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 2, p. 11.*



Rioters directed a great deal of their anger at rich businessmen. This cartoon captures the suspicions of many who claimed that the narikin, *or newly rich businessman, profited by creating phony shortages to manipulate the price of rice. As we see, the price of rice climbs out of reach for the Japanese housewife.*

The image of the narikin*—the cigar-smoking fat cat—appeared often in editorial cartoons in Japanese newspapers. Cartoonists depicted the* narikin *as caring only about money; no deal was too unethical, too selfish, or too unpatriotic for the* narikin *if there were profits to be made. Newspaper accounts of corruption and business scandals reinforced the image of* narikin *and* zaibatsu *as ruthless plunderers worried only about their own self-interest. Courtesy of Sakai and Shimizu, eds.,* Kindai manga, 5: Taisho zenki no manga, 67 *(Chikuma Shobo Publishing Co. Ltd., 1985), Tōkyō.*

government policies favoring their companies. In this way, many corrupt government officials and politicians became rich. Newspapers printed many stories on bribery and other unethical political and business practices.

Political leaders repeatedly admonished the Japanese people to sacrifice to strengthen the nation. But farmers and factory workers wearied of doing without while rich businessmen and politicians seemingly manipulated the economy for their own profit. In 1918, despite a booming economy in which the *zaibatsu* and corporate Japan flourished, millions fell into poverty, unable to keep pace with inflation and the soaring price of rice. Frustrated subjects rose up in anger. For fifty days, 700,000 people took to the streets in cities and towns across the country to protest the price of rice. In what would become the largest uprising since the Satsuma Rebellion, rioters attacked rice warehouses, retail shops, and homes of the rich. Eventually the government called out the army to calm the disturbances. Over 1,000 lost their lives in the rioting, and 25,000 were arrested.

The sarcastic song "Carefree," popular during the Rice Riots, illustrates the frustration and bitterness many ordinary citizens felt about big business, their political leaders, and the *narikin* or newly rich businessmen.

Activity: "Carefree"

Showing magic lantern images of plundering narikin,
A teacher at a broken-down school tells his pupils
With honest work this could be you.
He's teaching them success.
Ah, aren't we carefree!

It's because we are poor, we Japanese are great!
Atop that, our patience is first-rate.
Prices know no ceiling as they rise.
But supping boiled water and rice gruel,
We somehow survive.
Ah, aren't we carefree!

Eating Nanking rice, being eaten by Nanking
 bedbugs.
Living in the likes of pig sties.
Japanese citizens don't have voting rights,
But we are proudly arrogant nonetheless.
Ah, aren't we carefree!

Swell, swell, our nation's might swells.
The tyranny of the capitalists swells.
My wife's belly swells.
The ranks of the poor swell.
Ah, aren't we carefree.

From Michael Lewis, *Rioters and Citizens: Mass Protest in Imperial Japan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990, p. 101.

1. Work with a partner to interpret the lyrics to "Carefree." That is, for each stanza write a short paragraph using your own words to convey the meaning behind the sarcasm. Who was the victim and who was the victimizer in each stanza? What did the lyrics say about what was needed to improve people's lives?
2. How did ordinary citizens see their lives in this song?
3. Think of another name for the song. Is there another word you can substitute for "Carefree"?

Activity: Mapping Political Power

Growing participation in political life during the Taishō period led to the high point of democracy in pre–World War II Japan. To understand the significance of the political changes that took place during Taishō, we must first look at how "constitutional" government operated during the Meiji period.

Make a graphic representation showing the relationships between the following governing entities. Title your representation "Meiji Period." After you answer the questions pertaining to your political power representation, put it away for later use.

Emperor

In theory the emperor was the absolute monarch, but in reality the prime minister, the *genrō*, the cabinet, and the privy council governed in his name. The more access to the emperor political and military leaders enjoyed, the more they could invoke his name to back their policies. Although the constitution did not limit his powers, the emperor wielded no more power than other constitutional monarchs.

Genrō

Elder statesmen from among influential leaders in the Satsuma and Chōshū regions made up this informal but powerful group of advisers to the emperor. Although the eight men who constituted this group had no constitutional authority, they had direct access to the emperor and chose prime ministers. A *genrō* member could also have served concurrently as prime minister, cabinet member, or privy council member.

Prime Minister

The prime minister chose the cabinet. If he was not a member of the *genrō* himself, he was beholden to these powerful men who had selected him for office.

Cabinet

The cabinet set policies on administration and important matters of state. In effect, the cabinet acted as the chief executive organ in the emperor's name. It had the power to make treaties, appoint and dismiss government officials, and declare war. During the Meiji era the cabinet was not chosen from the majority party in the Diet, nor was it responsible to the Diet. Members of the *genrō* often served also as cabinet members.

Minister of the Army and Minister of the Navy
Because these important cabinet members had both direct access to the emperor and constitutional autonomy—in that they were subordinate only to the emperor—they enjoyed great influence in selecting the cabinet and forming policy.

Privy Council
The privy council deliberated on important matters of state such as legislation and international treaties. It was composed of veteran statesmen who were no longer in government. The privy council reviewed legislation and introduced it to the Diet for approval. The council could delay or reject proposed legislation. It was the only governmental body allowed to consult with the cabinet on foreign policy and treaties with other nations.

The privy council also interpreted the constitution, and its decisions on constitutional issues were final.

Diet
The Diet consisted of the House of Representatives and the House of Peers. Members of the House of Representatives were elected to their positions; those in the House of Peers received lifetime appointments. Only male property owners were eligible to vote for representatives. The Diet voted on legislation, but it usually accepted whatever the cabinet wanted. However, the House of Representatives could cause problems for the cabinet by rejecting budgets the cabinet proposed.

Electorate
In 1890 the right to vote was limited to Japanese males twenty-five and up who had paid 15 yen or more in annual property taxes and had lived in the same prefecture for at least a year. The property and residency requirements limited the number of eligible voters to one of every twenty-five men old enough to vote. Like Japan, most parliamentary countries at this time used property qualifications to limit the number of people eligible to vote.

1. In the representation you drew, which entity wielded the most actual power during the Meiji period? Which entity wielded the least? Explain your answers.
2. To make the government more democratic, what changes would you make in the relative power of these entities? Explain the reasons for your changes.

Democratization During Taishō

The Taishō Political Crisis

Just a few months after the Meiji emperor died in July 1912, a crisis in the government changed the relationships among the cabinet, the Diet, and the *genrō* group.

The prime minister at the time, who was trying to cut government spending, slashed the army budget. In protest, the minister of the army resigned his cabinet post. Furthermore, the army refused to appoint a successor, forcing the prime minister to step down because he could not form a new cabinet without the army. The *genrō*, of whom only four survived, all in their seventies, selected as new prime minister a man known for his authoritarian style.

Public outrage over the army's meddling in political affairs and the *genrō*'s appointment of an unpopular prime minister spread rapidly. Opposition political parties in the Diet called for the prime minister to resign, and citizens from all walks of life, led by the Movement to Protect Constitutional Government, took to the streets in protest. In February 1913 huge demonstrations throughout Tōkyō shut down government operations.

The Diet then cast a no-confidence vote against the prime minister, who could have dissolved the House of Representatives and called for new elections. He chose to resign instead.

This series of events marked a turning point in Taishō politics. The political parties in the Diet and the people had demonstrated that no prime minister or cabinet could be selected without regard for public sentiment. No longer could the *genrō* ignore the political makeup of the Diet when choosing cabinets. From this point until 1932, except for one brief period, the prime minister and the cabinet were chosen from the major political parties in the Diet's House of Representatives. After 1918 the prime minister was chosen from among the heads of the leading parties.

But the Taishō political crisis also foreshadowed things to come. The army, constitutionally responsible only to the emperor, had shown that it

Growth of the Japanese Electorate

Who could vote	Election Year	Voters	Total Population
Male subjects 25 and over, paying 10 yen or more in taxes	1902	983,193	45,227,000
Male subjects 25 or over, paying 3 yen or more in taxes	1920	3,069,787	55,963,000
1925: all male subjects 25 and over	1928	12,409,078	63,863,000

From Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition & Transformation*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1989, p. 241.

could veto any prime minister's cabinet nominees simply by refusing to participate in the cabinet.

Activity: Increasing the Electorate

Democracy in Japan took another step forward in 1925 when the Diet did away with property requirements for voting. Look at the table above and answer the questions.

1. What percentage of the total population voted in 1902, 1920, and 1928?
2. By how many people did the electorate increase between 1902 and 1928?
3. The next increase in the Japanese electorate didn't occur until 1946. Which group of citizens do you suppose were given the right to vote then?
4. What are some dates when American voting rights significantly expanded?

Democracy and the *Kokutai*

After 1925 any man of legal age could vote. Although labor unions and democracy advocates had worked toward this goal for years, they had always been frustrated by conservatives in the government who suspected that populist democracy would clash with Japanese tradition. But when support among the populace for universal manhood suffrage became overwhelming, conservatives finally agreed to expand the electorate. The government granted universal manhood suffrage in 1925, thus allowing for greater popular representation in the Diet.

But there was a catch. Japanese leaders worried that some new voters, especially factory workers, might support pro-labor candidates, particularly Socialists or Communists. Japanese Socialists had been at the forefront of the labor movement since its inception, backing workers' attempts to gain improvements in wages and working conditions. The Communists also worried the conservative Japanese government. The world's first successful Communist revolution in Russia (1917) and the Communist Party's rise to power troubled Japanese leaders. It demonstrated to them that a small, highly organized group of Communists could overthrow a government. So even though the number of Japanese Communists and Socialists was small in the 1920s, the government did everything possible to suppress them. Among the government's actions was the passage of the Peace Preservation Law. This controversial law was passed only ten days before universal manhood suffrage took effect.

The Peace Preservation Law

Read the Peace Preservation Law and answer the questions that follow.

The Peace Preservation Law

ARTICLE 1. Anyone who organizes a group for the purpose of changing the kokutai or of denying the private property system, or anyone who knowingly participates in said group, shall be sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment not exceeding ten years. An offense not carried out shall also be subject to punishment.

On the day the Peace Preservation Law was introduced in the Diet, a group of around three thousand people, representing thirty-five labor groups, held a rally in Tōkyō to oppose passage of the law. Courtesy of Shueisha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 3, p. 91.*

(The most important part of this legislation is Article 1. But before we can understand how the Peace Preservation Law might be applied, we need to know the meaning of *kokutai*. This word has been often translated as "national entity," or "national polity." In 1925 *kokutai*, even for most Japanese, was a vague term. It meant roughly the uniquely Japanese relationship among the government, the emperor, and the people in which all were united through a common cultural heritage. Therefore, anything that threatened to "change" the relationship among these entities was made illegal by this article.)

ARTICLE 2. Anyone who consults with another person on matters relating to the implementation of these objectives described in Clause 1 of the preceding Article shall be sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment not exceeding seven years.

ARTICLE 3. Anyone who instigates others for the purpose of implementing those objectives described in Clause 1, Article 1, shall be sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment not exceeding seven years.

ARTICLE 4. Anyone who instigates others to engage in rioting or assault or other crimes inflicting harm on life, person or property for the purpose of attaining the objectives of Clause 1, Article 1, shall be sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment not exceeding ten years.

ARTICLE 5. Anyone who, for the purpose of committing those crimes described in Clause 1, Article 1, and in the preceding three articles, provides money and goods or other financial advantages for others, or making an offer or commitment for same, shall be sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment not exceeding five years. Anyone who knowingly receives such considerations, or makes demand or commitment of same shall be punished in a similar manner.

ARTICLE 6. Anyone who has committed the crimes described in the three preceding articles and has surrendered himself voluntarily to authorities shall have his sentence reduced or be granted immunity from prosecution.

ARTICLE 7. This law shall be made applicable to anyone who commits crimes described in this law outside the jurisdiction in which this law is in effect.

From David John Lu, ed., *Japan: A Documentary History*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1997, pp. 397–398.

Questions

1. Before answering the following questions, rewrite the Articles of the Peace Preservation Law in your own words.
2. Which clause of Article 1 do you think the authors of this law felt was most important? Explain.
3. How might this law have affected people's willingness to criticize the government or to support others who might do so?

4. Do you think it would have been possible to develop a democratic government under the conditions of the Peace Preservation Law? Explain.
5. Why might labor groups in particular have been adamantly opposed to the Peace Preservation Law?

Activity: Democracy During Taishō

Take out your political power representation showing the relationships among the governing entities of the Meiji period. Now edit your representation to show the changes brought about by the Taisho Political Crisis and the granting of universal manhood suffrage.

Questions

1. Explain how democracy in the Taishō period differed from democracy during the Meiji era.
   a. Which entity or entities lost the most power?
   b. Which entity or entities gained the most power?
   c. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* defines *representative democracy* as "a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them indirectly through a system of representation and delegated authority in which the people choose their officials and representatives at periodically held free elections."

   According to this definition, which government was more democratic, Meiji or Taishō? Explain your answer.

Social Reform: Women

While Japan was modernizing during the Meiji and Taishō periods, society and the family for the most part remained staunchly patriarchal, with attitudes toward women little changed from Tokugawa days. Considered inferior to men, women were to obey their fathers when they were young, their husbands when married, and their sons if widowed. They also had few legal rights. Upon marriage a woman's property became her husband's. A woman could not inherit her husband's or her father's property; that right belonged to the eldest son. Husbands could easily divorce their wives without having to pay support of any kind, and fathers got custody of the children.

As in the West during this time, women were not expected to have careers. Educational opportunities for girls lagged far behind those for boys, and employment for most women meant working in a factory. As a rule, employers forced women to quit their jobs when they married.

During the first part of the twentieth century, most marriages were still arranged between parents of the bride and groom. Matches depended on political or economic considerations, and love had little or nothing to do with the choice. Marriage also meant that a woman moved in with her husband's family and came under the control of an often domineering mother-in-law. Many women found themselves trapped in loveless marriages, acting as maidservants to their husband's extended family. Husbands might look for affection outside of the marriage; wives could not. So for many Japanese women, the closest male relationship was with a son. To protect that relationship, mothers commonly bullied daughters-in-law, feeling threatened by the presence of someone who could compete for a son's attention and affection. It was not rare for a mother-in-law to saddle her son's wife with most of the housework.

Shortly before and during the Taishō period some women began efforts to improve their status in Japanese society. In 1911 a small group of women writers formed the Blue Stocking organization, which aimed to help women fulfill their own hidden literary talents. In their writings, Blue Stocking members challenged traditional attitudes toward women and called for equal rights for men and women—a radical idea at the time. The Blue Stockings drew criticism and generated controversy. Authorities tried to suppress the journal they published.

Later, in the 1920s, women's groups worked for protection of the rights of mothers and children, equal opportunity for men and women, and universal suffrage. But the public by and large viewed Japanese feminist leaders, many of whom had close ties to socialist and labor groups, as dangerous radicals.

However, the influx of mass culture from the West, with its more liberal social ideas and its emphasis on individualism, did affect the status of some women, mostly in cities. The younger generation began questioning the wisdom of arranged marriages and demanding love marriages. And some Japanese husbands in the newly emerging middle class began treating their wives more as equals.

"Bog Rhubarb Shoots"

Social activist Yamashiro Tomoe wrote the following story as a "non-fiction novelette." It depicts the real-life hardships and abuses suffered by a young farm wife during the 1930s. The young wife's mistreatment at the hands of her mother-in-law and husband marked a way of life for many Japanese women during this time. A poor orphan girl is sent by her relatives to work as a nursemaid in the home of a prominent family. When she finishes her term of service, she is taken to a distant village to marry into a poor farm family.

One of her daily chores as a young wife was to fetch water from a well eighty-six feet deep. There was a clump of bog rhubarb on top of the cliff near the well. Every year when the shoots began to sprout, the young wife would think of her mother and her stomach trouble. Late in the spring, when the rhubarb shoots blossomed into flowers that reminded her of ornamental hairpins and the leaves turned into little umbrellas, she would think of the spring when she had to leave her home and of the spring when she had come here as a young bride.

Her husband, Uichi, was six years older than she. He was a clever man, unusual for a person living in the hills. He kept saying, "I don't want to spend my whole life as a dirt farmer." Many young men from this area left the village to become policemen. . . .

Uichi wanted to become a policeman too. But he did not apply for a run-of-the-mill job. He applied to go to the northernmost part of Korea as a border guard.

They had been married for three years and had one child. Now Uichi was off to Korea. The night before he left, he told his wife, almost in tears, "I'm doing this for our child. If you love our child, though it may be years before I come back, work hard just as if you were a maid serving out a term contract. Do my share of the work too. I am determined not to come back until I get my pension."

Her father-in-law was a hardworking man who went out in the fields early in the morning, before the stars disappeared, and worked until it got so dark that he couldn't see the tip of his nose. He was strong and healthy and never got sick. In the spring he couldn't wait to go out to cut brushwood, and in the fall, until he got busy with the harvest, he spent all his spare time cutting brushwood. Year after year he took care of two to three, sometimes four to five, oxen. He used brushwood and other greens to make compost, and, whenever he left the house, he transported manure to the hillside fields. He was taciturn and seldom said anything, unless it was about his work.

Once in a while he would say, "I don't care what I eat or wear. I have no desire to hold any sort of position in the village. I have no wish to see anything. I have no hobby. Making the soil produce better crops is the only pleasure I have in life."

When the young wife first came to this family, her mother-in-law told her, "There is always a chance that we will get sick. There are times when one is racked with pain or scabies.[1] So we have to work while we're healthy. After I came to this family I worked hard and underwent a lot of hardship. This was how we managed to get the property we now have. I expect you to work hard too. I don't intend to work hard by myself and let you, the young wife, have an easy time of it. Now that you've joined our family, I want you to work hard and skimp and save with me."

When the mother-in-law stepped out of the house, she did not go beyond the village boundary, because, she said, she didn't want to waste any human manure. Whenever the young wife left the house, her mother-in-law would tell her, "If you feel like relieving yourself while you're out, be sure to run into our field." On the rare occasions when she bought fish, she would save the tails and fins and paste them on the wall as "charms." She cooked the heads, intestines, and bones until they were charred black, and mixed them with bean paste. She would say, "Now, when dirt-poor peasants like us eat fish, we have to use everything this way. Otherwise we'll be damned. So watch what I do carefully." . . .

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[1] scabies: a contagious skin disease caused by mites

Whenever the young wife tried to wear the kimono that she had been given by her former employers, her mother-in-law would say, "It's wasteful for a wife of a family like ours to wear a kimono that's as nice as that. I hate to see you wear it." And, whenever her daughters tried to clean the house, she would say, "This isn't the temple or a doctor's house. If you have time to clean house, go out and work."

When the young wife had her baby, the mother-in-law said, "I had seven children. I didn't stay in bed for three days. No one said to me, 'You did a fine job.' Soon after childbirth I would carry a three-*to* [one *to* equals 4.76 U.S. gallons] sack to the watermill and didn't ask anybody to help me. When I was in bed I was given just a slice of pickle. That was enough."

So she would bring only one meal to the young wife in bed. After the baby was born she would constantly repeat, "I sure hate to see a young wife wasting her time feeding the baby. She could be working the loom and making some money." No one in the house criticized her when she talked like this.

About the time that Uichi was getting ready to leave for Korea to serve as a border guard, there were twelve people in the household: old grandma, over sixty; the father and mother, about fifty; a daughter who had been married and come back, now over twenty; two marriageable daughters of nineteen and sixteen; three sons who were still in school; Uichi's baby boy; Uichi himself; and his wife.

Now, brave Uichi had gone to a far-off land, hoping to work till he got his pension. The old grandmother, still in good health, took care of the kitchen and did some spinning. People used to comment on the diligence and good sense of the father-in-law and mother-in-law. They were convinced of this themselves and worked hard as pillars of the family. The four young women—the three daughters and the young wife—worked at the loom day after day, whether it snowed or rained, in order to earn money. The boys who were still in school would take care of the baby or would wind the thread on the spindles. They just took it for granted that this was their job. Neighbors used to say, "Everybody at your place works hard, as if you're on the battlefield. You're bound to get rich." . . .

The young wife was more skilled in weaving than the three young daughters, and she came to be recognized as the best weaver in the village. Her father-in-law and mother-in-law were pleased with her work. But because she was such an excellent weaver, they begrudged her taking any time away from the loom. They would complain, "Our young wife takes a lot of time in the toilet." Or, "She sure takes a long time feeding the baby." "She's so dumb. She's doing the washing again. It's better for the family if she lets the old woman do the washing, and does some weaving instead."

As a result, the young wife could not get away from the loom for a single minute. She didn't get a chance to vary her daily routine by doing some housework. And she had no one to talk to about how she really felt. So she began to mutter to herself. "If a young wife doesn't have any parents, she isn't appreciated for all the work she does. The more they like her work, the less time they allow her to waste. I can't even wash my underwear very often; I feel guilty if I do. It's hard to have to weave all the time."

Although she muttered to herself this way, she never uttered a single word of complaint to her in-laws. She always slaved away at the loom looking cheerful. No one told her how much money her work was bringing into the family. When she asked her mother-in-law, the older woman refused to answer. When they were asked to do weaving for other families, they would stretch the thread out and make an extra foot of fabric by not making the weave as tight as it should have been. When the young wife asked to have the extra piece to make an apron, her mother-in-law refused to answer yes or no.

Whenever the mother-in-law heard from her neighbors, "At so and so's, the wife's parents brought over a present to celebrate their daughter's pregnancy," she would say, "That must make them proud. Our wife didn't bring a single thing with her, not even a sash." When she heard stories about other young wives in the village, she would repeatedly utter mean words like "I hear so and so's wife brought some beautiful kimonos, and dressers and bureaus with her. I hear wives are supposed to bring enough clothes with them to last a lifetime. I wonder what our wife plans to do about clothing for herself." Then she would end by saying, "I feel sorry for our grandchild. His mother doesn't have a single bureau. She can't even take her son to visit the boy's grandparents. He hasn't received a single thing—not one piece of baby clothes, or a paper carp [to celebrate Boys' Day]—from his maternal grandparents. He has nothing to show off to the neighbors. They must all be sneering at him. What a pitiful situation."

On these occasions the young wife would think, "If only somebody would say to her, 'Don't complain endlessly about the wife. When she was brought to this house as the wife, you knew that she was an orphan.'" But no one would say even that much on her behalf. There is a saying that parents bestow on their children seven blessings. She didn't want seven blessings. All she wanted was one person to whom she could divulge her feelings. Someone who would be like a parent to her. Such were the thoughts of the young, orphan wife. Then she would remember her husband Uichi's words before he left for Korea. So she continued to endure the hardships of the household, even though she was seldom permitted to hold her baby and her husband was not present—all this for the sake of her husband and her child.

With the passing years, her child grew. In other families, parents would put delicacies in their children's mouth. But here she was bound to the loom from morning to night. Now her son would quietly bring back wild red berries that he got from his grandfather, who found them among the brushwood, and drop them in her mouth. When the boy put a berry in her mouth with his cute, tiny hand, she felt a warmth in her breast that she had not known before, and her eyes filled with tears. Not until the little boy could walk around did anyone offer her a single chestnut or nutmeg that was being roasted by the fire. Now the little boy would bring tasty things for her to eat. This made her very happy. . . .

Earlier, in the spring of the year when her term of service as a maid was up, and she was about to set out for a strange home to be a young wife, she had a pleasant fantasy about her new life: It didn't matter if the new home turned out to be in the hills with only three houses. She didn't care if her husband turned out to be a charcoal burner or a woodcutter. If she could live in her own house with her husband, she would endure any hardship because life would be so joyful. She would do her best and cook and wash.

Now she had been married for ten years and for most of those years she had lived apart from her husband. She couldn't even hold her child in bed. From early in the morning till late at night, she banged away with the reed on the loom. When people asked her "Why do you work so hard?" she would reply, "My husband asked me to. And it is to build up the family property and help my husband get ahead in the world." But now she knew that if she were asked, "Will all this hard work bring happiness to you and your husband?" she would not be able to answer that it would.

Why couldn't she reply positively, she whose husband left home to earn a living? There hadn't been a single day when she didn't think about the difficult work that her husband was undertaking as a guard along the northern frontiers of Korea. When he left home he told her she had to wait until he qualified for a pension. Now, he wrote in his letter, "I can't quit simply because I can get my pension. I am determined not to return until I have become the most successful person in the whole village. I want to become a police inspector. This will take another ten years. You'll have to wait until then." When he had left for Korea she had understood why he did so. Hence, she was able to wait and work patiently; but now, when her husband notified her that it would be another ten years, she felt distressed. . . .

The House

Hardworking Uichi who used to think about
  his family and think about his wife,
Must have become blinded by his uniform
  with gold stripes and by his success.
He has forgotten his wife, who is getting
  thinner and thinner.

The wife would sing this to herself as she worked on the loom. Her in-laws had managed to get all their children married off and had fulfilled their responsibilities as parents. Now they were full of plans to tear down the old house, with its straw roof, and build a new one with a tile roof. Wherever they happened to be, in the fields or by the fireplace, they would say,

"The best thing that a human being can do is build a house."

"In this world what counts is the house. The house fixes the family's standing in society. It fixes a person's worth." . . .

"The house, the house. Everything depends on the house. When Uichi comes home we'll build a new house. We'll build a new house. We'll build a new house. We'll build everything we ever wanted. We've always been looked down on by others. They wouldn't speak to us politely. We won't forget that. Never! We'll build a new house and get even with them. We'll show them what we can do."

This is what they said day and night. Now, Uichi's wife was the only person working at the loom. When her son entered the first grade, she sang,

First grade, oh, first grade!
My son is in the first grade.
I too am in the first grade.

She looked forward every day to her son's return from school as she worked skillfully with the reed.

When the child entered the second grade, she sang, "Second grade, oh, second grade," and passed each day joyfully as if she herself had moved up to the second grade. In this way six years passed by swiftly for her and her son. She used to sing and hum:

There's nothing as wonderful as a mother
  and child,
There's nothing as wonderful as a child.
My husband is starting to forget me,
But I have a son.
He is a kind boy. I wonder who he takes after?
No one has ever said the kind of nice things
  he says to me.
He learned to ask early in life:
"Are your feet cold? Is the fire in the brazier
by your feet still warm?" He would ask me
these questions day and night.

But her mother-in-law never told her to go and see her son perform in a play or take part in school games. Occasionally, when she told her mother-in-law that she would like to, the woman raved that she had insulted her, and was in a bad mood all day. So Uichi's wife never managed to see her son take part in sports or school plays.

When teachers came on home visits, her mother-in-law would say, "Someone like you, who knows nothing except how to weave, would disgrace the young boy if you spoke to the teacher. You'd better stay in the back room." Every day she would sit by the loom and imagine herself saying, "Teacher, how is my son? Will you please take good care of him." But she never did get the chance to say this to the teacher.

The first time that she got to go to the school on account of her son was at his graduation ceremony. . . .

Uichi who was far off policing the northern frontiers of Korea and working for his own advancement never mentioned his wife in his letters, but he would say he wanted his son to go to college and become a high-ranking government official. Send him to the prefecture middle school, he would write. Because of his father's wishes, Mii went to a middle school far away from home to take the entrance examination. The prefecture middle school had a reputation for being difficult to get into, but Mii passed the entrance examination on his first try. When Mii left for school, his mother went over the mountain pass and saw him off at the station. She felt the station was a sad place, and the train was a heartless vehicle. After the train left the station, she crawled through the fence, threw herself on the rail and placed her ear on it. She kept her ear there until the train disappeared around the corner of the distant hill and she could no longer hear the rumbling sound that echoed deep down inside the rail. . . .

Around sunset she headed toward the mountain home where neither her son nor her husband would be home, and where there was no one she could talk with freely. Her feet and legs, used to working the loom year after year, began to feel heavy. Her legs, which for thousands of days had pumped busily, millions of times began to feel as if they were giving way. She felt as if she were walking all by herself into a dark hole on her tired legs. Her heart was heavy with apprehension and sadness. . . .

From Mikiso Hane. *Peasants, Rebels and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan.* New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1982, pp. 85–101.

Questions

1. The main character of the story is always referred to as the "young wife" or "Uichi's wife" but never by her own name. Explain why you think this may be.
2. What was the young wife's role in the household of her husband's family? In what ways was she valuable to the family?
3. Traditionally, the male head of the household was the most powerful figure in the Japanese family and home. In what you read, who held the most power in the family in the story? Did Uichi's absence affect who held the most power?
4. The wife slaved away at the loom, with no luxuries or time to relax and enjoy her son. What helped her endure these hardships? Why did she work so hard?
5. Why didn't the young wife run away?
6. How do you think the young wife might treat her future daughter-in-law?

Makiko's Diary

The following excerpts are taken from Nakano Makiko's diary written in 1910, a few years before the Taishō reign began. They provide another glimpse into the life of a young woman who, like Uichi's wife, had lost her mother and was married off at a young age. However, both Makiko and her husband came from well-off Kyōtō families, tied together by personal and business relationships between the two fathers. Hers was an arranged marriage, but Makiko knew her husband first as her older brother's best friend. As you read these excerpts, keep in mind that women of Makiko's socioeconomic status made up only a small fraction of Japanese women.

Makiko married into the Nakano family pictured above. Seated left and right are Makiko's mother-in-law and Makiko. Standing are brothers and sisters of Makiko's husband, who is standing second from the left in the back. Courtesy of Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

January 16 *Sunday* *Freezing rain*
Since it rained, Hide-san's (Makiko's brother-in-law) college crew training session in Ōtsu was canceled, and this gave us a good opportunity to go have family group photographs taken. We decided on the Narui Photo Studio and went there after lunch. . . .

Shortly after we arrived at the studio, the men joined us. Posing for photographs made me nervous. I felt my body stiffen, but at the moment the photographer said, "Now, please, hold still," it was all over. He took five different pictures, and the cost was 1.60 yen.

On the way home we stopped at Higashi Ōtani and paid our respects to our ancestors at the family grave. We also went to the mausoleum there, where my mother's ashes are deposited, and I felt that she must be very pleased to see us all together.

We bought some sweet steamed buns to take home. It was very cold—my fingers were chilled to the point that I could not feel anything!

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The electric light came on shortly after we got home. It was dinnertime again.

Our accounting went smoothly without incident. The staff of the store and their families went to the theater today [a holiday treat paid for by the store]. . . .

Note: For lunch we had thick soup made with a base of *sake* lees [a popular winter soup].

January 19 *Wednesday* *Clear*
A beautiful day since early this morning. Before I realized it, it was already noon. Today's lunch was a rich soup made with a base of *sake* lees.

My husband attended the Pharmacists' Association party at the Nakamura-rō and came home around ten o'clock. He said that it was not well attended.

After dinner one of the kitchen maids left, saying that she was going home just briefly, but did not return. I wanted to know why she hadn't come back, and telephoned to inquire, only to find out that she had quarreled with a member of the staff working in the store. She is rather talkative and something of a troublemaker, so that no one seems to miss her. However, being shorthanded did cause some problems. So at once I sent an inquiry to the agency about hiring a new maid, but was told that there is no one suitable for us at the moment. Everyone helped out in the kitchen, and we managed somehow. What a nuisance that girl is!

January 26 *Wednesday* *Clear*
Still no letter from Mrs. Shirakawa Omiki about a maid for us. We had vegetarian dishes today because it is the monthly memorial day for grandfather Chuhachi V.

In the evening my father came to see us, bringing some whole steamed sweet potatoes for a snack. Then Mr. Tanaka Hozan arrived, followed by Mr. Matsui. Obviously Mr. Matsui had already had some *sake*; his face was as red as a demon's. He brought the newly mounted hanging scroll and framed painting that he had done for us. They were so beautifully done that both look much better. As a matter of fact, the Hokuto painting looks much more valuable now. My father went back home around nine o'clock.

After he left, the party got livelier because my husband and Mr. Matsui are such good friends. Suddenly they got into an argument about Mr. Matsui's distaste for Western-style clothing. My husband criticized him, saying, "Why don't you like to wear Western-style clothing?" They went on arguing about who is right and who is wrong, and in the end Mr. Matsui lost. In the meantime Mr. Tanaka, who was also wearing kimono, looked very uneasy, as though he were the guilty one; I felt sorry for him. We were rather frightened, for they were at each other's throats. Our visitors left around 1:00 A.M. Mr. Matsui really is a good-natured man, I thought, because he did not look angry even after being so badly battered.

Note: Today's menu was trout fry and seaweed soup.

February 13 *Sunday* *Clear*
My father called last night to ask me to come to Nijō this morning, since he has business to attend to later in the day. Mother ["mother" is what Makiko calls her mother-in-law] kindly said, "Hurry up and go," so as soon as my husband got up I left without even tidying up the room. Feeling guilty for my selfishness, which causes so much trouble for my family, I asked myself why my mother had to die so young, causing me such pain. I push away the thought every time it arises, because I know I should not think about her in any way that makes me feel sad and angry. I arrived at Nijō before ten o'clock.

My father wanted to confer with me mainly about the arrangements for my brother's forthcoming wedding. We talked well into the afternoon, and just as I was feeling an urge to go home, my husband came in to say that he had to go to a meeting of the Nijō Pharmacists' Cooperative, so he stopped by. Father and I talked some more and it was four o'clock when I left. On the way home I did some shopping in Nijō. Just as I got home, large hailstones fell. My husband got back after ten o'clock.

My observation while I was at Nijō tells me that the housekeeper we hired recently seems to be working well, but that the young kitchen maid is not doing so well these days.

February 14 *Monday* *Clear*
Since there was not much to do around the house today, I felt I must work on my sewing. The kimono merchant came over in the afternoon about

Manzō's [Makiko's elder brother] and Eiko's [Makiko's sister] kimono. I wish I didn't have to do all these things. Mother must be wondering how much more time I will need to finish them. I felt that I should apologize to her for taking so long.

Okuni-san returned home with a novel entitled *Yadorigi*, which she borrowed from a friend. I look forward to reading it tonight.

Hide-san moved into a boardinghouse today. He left after dinner with all of his belongings. I told him that it must be inconvenient living in such a place, and asked him please to come back as often as he can, to which he replied, "No, I won't unless there is something specifically to attend to." I was impressed by his decisive, manly reply!

Mr. Yakushiji came to see my husband about the primary school, where I have heard there is some trouble. He left about 10:00 P.M. I started to read the novel and was totally absorbed in it, when around midnight I realized that my husband had started to write a long letter to his sister Yae about the matter involving Mr. Matsui and about the Girls' Day dolls. It took so long that when we went to bed it was exactly 2:30.

March 6 *Sunday* *Clear*
There were snow flurries again this morning, and it is still cold.

My husband telephoned Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Matsui in the morning about today's schedule and got ready in a hurry when he found out that the *kyōgen* [a Japanese musical instrument] performances start at ten o'clock. He went there with Mr. Suzuki in a two-passenger *rikisha* [rickshaw]. He arrived in good time before the performances started. Someone named Fujiki-sensei joined them at the theater, which was already packed. The plays were all very amusing and apparently the costumes were elegant. The performances ended at 11:00 P.M.

The first meeting of a Western-style cooking class at Mr. Matsumiya's house was held today, and my husband was going there to have a dinner made up of dishes the class had prepared, but he changed his plan and had the food sent to Mr. Matsu's place. He came home around one o'clock in the morning, having enjoyed the meal greatly. I would like to attend the class next week, but it seems that the number of places is limited. We'll see.

June 4 *Saturday* *Clear*
Today's cooking class at the Matsumiyas' began at nine in the morning, and as I feared, took longer than I hoped—it ended after noon. Rushed back home, since my husband was planning to leave on a camping trip with some friends. They first assembled here and took off at 2:30. Their plan is to take the Keihan Railway to Fushimi and then start hiking, but since the weather was not quite what it should have been, I am concerned about their trip. We had beef sukiyaki tonight, since it is the first Saturday of the month.

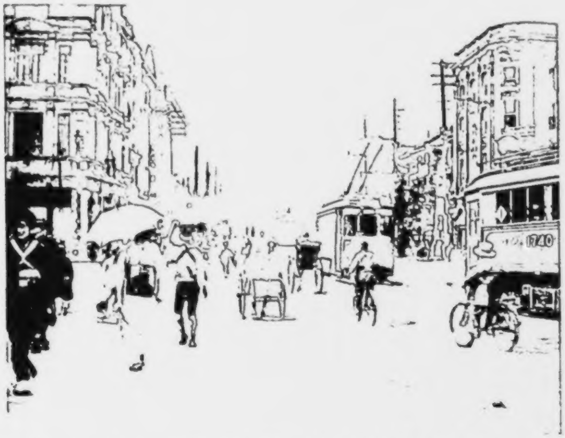
Well, there was an incident tonight. I had saved some of the dishes I learned to cook in this morning's class for Hide-san, thinking that he might come home tonight. Since he did not, I served them to Mr. Moriguchi instead. He got very angry, sat cross-legged, slipped his kimono off one shoulder, and began telling me why he was so upset. He started calling me *"o-maki-san,"* and I answered innocently, "Yes?" He spoke in a slow, deliberate manner, emphasizing each sentence, saying, "I appreciate your thoughtfulness in offering me a taste of your Western-style cooking, but I am not going to touch it. If you ever again have a notion to serve me this stuff, please kindly observe this fortyish male happily eating his *chazuke* [a humble dish of cold rice warmed by pouring hot tea over it]. He went on and on, repeating himself, making it clear how very angry he was.

I was astonished and appalled by his behavior, and had no idea why he was so angry, speaking to me like that in front of the maids and shopboys. I became as upset and angry as he was, but said that I was sorry, trying to put an end to this incident. Later that night, the more I thought about it the more upset I got and felt sick to my stomach. After I went to bed, I cried from humiliation at what he had said and how insulting he had been, and could not fall asleep for a long time.

Excerpted from Nakano Makiko, *Makiko's Diary: A Merchant Wife in 1910 Kyoto*. Translated, with Introduction and notes, by Kazuko Smith. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 1995. pp. 69-141.

Questions

1. What do you think Makiko's relationship with her mother-in-law is like?



Tōkyō's business district, Nihonbashi, bustles with activity, ca. 1921. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 2, p. 36.*

2. To what social class does Makiko's family belong? Provide evidence for your answer.
3. Did Makiko perform any work for her husband's family?
4. Describe Makiko's relationship with her husband. How was it different from the young wife's relationship with Uichi?
5. Apparently Makiko's husband approved of her taking Western cooking lessons. Why do you think he did?

Children in the countryside play with a bicycle. Although many farmers labored under the strain of everyday life, there were also some wealthy farmers. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 5, p. 45.*

6. If Makiko and Uichi's wife traded places, how do you think they would have reacted to their new circumstances?
7. Do Makiko and Uichi's wife have anything in common?

Two Different Worlds

Cities became hubs of everything "modern" in Japan. The latest in communication, transportation, and industrial technologies could be found in Japan's bustling urban centers, as could the most recent cultural imports from the West. Baseball, dance halls, Western clothes, music, and hairstyles found enthusiastic adherents among urban residents. Cities contained the commercial, industrial, intellectual, financial, and cultural centers of the nation. For the most part, cities were the focal points of the liberal reform movements of the Taishō period.

The countryside was another story. Life in rural Japan ground on with little change. A few large landowners owned a disproportionate amount of land while average farm families eked out a living from small family plots. Although technological advances did make their way to the countryside (about 90 percent of rural villages had electricity by the 1930s), living standards remained low. Few political or cultural transformations trickled down to rural Japan. As a result, the countryside remained poor, politically conservative, and deeply rooted in tradition.

The following readings give some inklings of everyday life during the early 1900s in Japan's largest city, Tōkyō, and in a small hamlet in the countryside. "The Ginza Street," written by a Japanese woman in the 1910s, describes the sights and sounds of a popular commercial district in Tōkyō. The Ginza district's dynamic energy drew many young men and women to the cities in search of better-paying work and a more exciting lifestyle, as described by the main character in "Share Otoko" ("The Dandy"). In contrast to the hustle and bustle of the cities, a now elderly woman recalls her days as a young girl in rural "Sakura Village."

The Ginza Street

The name of Ginza recalls to all minds the most flourishing street in Tokyo. It is situated at the centre of the city and closely connected with the Shimbashi Station, the south gateway of the capital. Buildings on both sides of the street are all in European style, constructed of brick and stone. Large buildings are all occupied by big merchants and watchmakers—jewelers, foreign goods dealers, and bazaars are most prominent among them. Towards the evening, stalls of various kinds open their shops on the pavement, and pursue their business till midnight; they are a peculiar contrast to those large beautiful stores in the European buildings. About the time when the electric lamps are lighted in all the shops, you stand near the crossroads of Owaricho. Your ears are deafened by the roars of tramcars, and cries of newspaper boys. Electric trams which come and stop here are overflowing with passengers, because the cross is the point to change cars for them in all four directions. Two or three policemen in black uniforms are standing near the halting-place of cars and endeavoring to restrain the confusion of people, and at the cross of tracks, a signal man with a lantern of red and green lights is signaling for cars. . . .

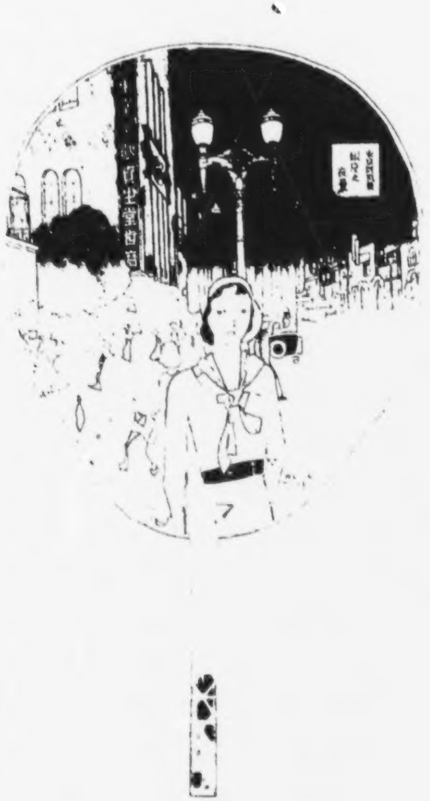
Most of the men and women who wander about the street in the evening are rather of richer rank, and come round here for shopping by way of taking a walk. While you are looking, the people pass the cross-roads—young gentlemen in European dress of the latest style, beautiful daughters in gay garments, accompanied by their parents or maid-servants, happy couples in honeymoon, debauches hand-in-hand with *geisha*, etc. . . .

Now you turn the south-end corner of the street and come near the Dobashi Bridge, which is situated at the south-western end of Ginza. Under twilight of stars, you perceive two or three black figures sitting down on the pavement of the bridge and leaning their backs against the railing. They are beggars. The metropolitan police are always troubled by these kinds of human beings, and however often it drives them away from the streets of the city, they come back like flies. Alarm bells of *rikisha*, the bellowing of motor cars, roaring of carriages and tramcars, noises of footsteps, steam whistles of trains—these they don't care of at all as they crouch silently on the bridge and repeatedly entreat, "Ladies and gentlemen of the east and west, favors to the old sick one!" . . . What a miserable sight in contrast to the gorgeous and extravagant scene at the main street nearby.

Customers to the Ginza shops are proud of what they have purchased here, and all the goods and articles of Ginza being believed to be the first rank they don't care of higher prices. Articles of the same kind and quality can be bought at lower prices in the streets of Yotsuya or Kanda district, and yet ladies living in the "Bluff" in Yokohama come down to Ginza in the evening by taking trams, or by *rikisha* to satisfy their vanity for their neighbors or friends. If their clothes or articles are wrapped in paper with signs of any Ginza shops, it is thought by them to be an endorsement as the goods of the first and best class. . . .

The *yomise* or night stalls of Ginza are a singular contrast to the large stores in the street. People can have food, dresses, books and everything from these stores in the brick buildings, and yet small stalls lighted with oil or acetylene gas lamps attract their customers every night. The *furu-dōgu-ya* or dealers in second-hand furniture are rather larger stalls among the others and their merchandises consist of *tansu* (chest of drawers), *chadana* (shelf for tea service), *hōmbako* (bookcase), *toko okimono* (ornament kept in the alcove), *kijumono* (roll of hanging picture), *karakane zaiku* (bronze furniture), etc. In smaller stalls, shirts, hats, and caps, soaps, perfumes, old clothes, stockings, shoes, and boots, clogs, sticks, toilet articles and fancy foods for girls, all of inferior quality and cheaper are sold. There are also the shops of fruits, cakes and parched peas. Stalls of pictures, picture cards, second-hand books and magazines, are visited by students. Two or three shops of *hōdzuki* (ground up winter cherries) draw the groups of little girls. At one corner of the street a hawker of new inventions is giving explanations in a loud voice, and enveloped by the crowd of people. . . . You can see very small miserable shops, where wives of poor day-workers expose little things of one or two *sen*. The most interesting contrasts are a stall of Buddhist scripture books situated against the door of the Salvation Army Headquarters, and another stall of rings and chains made of alloy just in front of a large watch store.

Towards midnight visitors are gradually dispersed for their homes, and the stalls both in the



A modern girl (moga) *strolls the Ginza shopping district of Tōkyō in this ad for Shiseido department store by D. Ayao Yamana. Courtesy of Shiseido Corporate Museum, Shizuoka, Japan.*

front street and for the *ennichi* [festival] put up their shops and go to their home or lodging. After the stalls are cleared away, the pavement, as well as the by-street on the *ennichi*, is found scattered with peels of oranges, ends of cigarettes, and torn pieces of wrapping paper; and under the dreary light of street lamps the stepping sound of a policeman can only be heard.

From T. Fujimoto, *The Nightside of Japan*. London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 1927, pp. 28–33.

Questions

1. Write five adjectives that describe the sights and sounds of the Ginza street.
2. What reasons for going to the Ginza are mentioned in the reading?
3. What economic classes did the people in the Ginza belong to? Give examples.
4. What kind of people were likely to wear the latest European fashions, shop in the European-style buildings, and buy foreign goods?

During the Taishō era, the most obvious and controversial evidence of modern urban life in Japan was embodied is *mobo* and *moga* (short for *modan boi* and *modan garu*, or "modern boy" and "modern girl"). These young men and women congregated in the dance halls and cafes of Tōkyō and Ōsaka, smoking cigarettes, drinking beer, and dancing cheek-to-cheek. Such diversions shocked the sober and sedate parents of these urban pleasure seekers. The colorful clothing, high-energy Western music and dance, and casual relations between young men and women struck traditionalists as garish and obscene. Critics railed against the younger generation's affront to such traditional Japanese values as frugality, hard work, group harmony, and decorum. The *mobo* and *moga* were criticized for being too individualistic and committed mainly to satisfying their own materialistic desires.

In the following song, a well-off young man from the countryside ventures to Tōkyō's Ginza district in pursuit of romance. His story illustrates the allure of the city as well as the danger that sometimes accompanied it.

Share Otoko (The Dandy, 1924)

In the village I am the one they call
The number one *mobo*
Vain, conceited, smug,
I came to Ginza in Tōkyō.
To begin with, my style consists of
A blue shirt with crimson necktie,
A derby hat and horn-rimed glasses,
And baggy sailor pants.
The woman that I have fallen in love with
Has jet black eyes and bobbed hair.
She's short and curvaceous,
And she is brazen down to her toes.
I first got to know her at the cafe,
Where I work. . . .
Do you know? My Father is landlord, the head of
the village.
The village head is a rich man and I, his son,

Am single even now, a bachelor! . . .
If you've got the prestige and the money,
Even if you have no looks— . . .
[Women are still attracted to you.]
Is it a dream or is it a figment of my imagination?
Just then, the woman's husband comes rushing at me.
Without saying a word, I am engulfed by a flurry of fists.
Beaten to a pulp, I faint.
My wallet, my watch have been taken!
My precious woman is gone!
What a fearsome place Tōkyō's Ginza is!
I am *mobo* who cannot cry, even if I feel like it.

From Christine Yano, "Defining the Modern Nation in Japanese Popular Song, 1914–1932," in *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900–1930*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello, Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998, p. 256.

Questions

1. How does the *mobo* in this song see himself?
2. How do you suppose the *mobo* behaved when he was in the village?
3. Why do you suppose the *mobo* went to the Ginza? What does he learn about life in Tōkyō?
4. What sorts of problems do you think country people had when they moved to big cities?

"Sakura Village"

"Plain living" you could call it, but that wouldn't describe it: out in the country many houses didn't even have *tatami* matting, and the whole family had to live on bare wooden floors with rough straw mats spread over them. The custom was that new mats, of fresh straw, were made at the end of December and put down in time to see the New Year in.

Most of the land around Sakura village belonged to various large landowners, so during the harvest season, on the day the rice rent was due, the tenants would load sacks of rice onto either a handcart or packhorse and take them down to the storehouse of the landlord's agent in the village. One of the landlord's clerks would be there to keep an eye on things.

A poor farm family gathers around the sunken hearth in their home. Note the scarcity of household goods. The father makes rope as the eldest son studies under a gas lamp. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 5, p. 10.*

When this heap was moved to the landlord's own storehouses, a lot of the tenants would volunteer to give a hand—not out of kindness of their hearts, mind you, but for the extra pay they'd earn. The sacks were carried out of the agent's place, loaded onto handcarts, then pulled in a line, made up of dozens of tenants with his own rig, winding down the road to Tsuchiura. The roads were very bumpy and potholed back then, so it was impossible to carry more than four sacks per cart. With five or more on board, unless someone was pushing as well, even the strongest man couldn't make the cart budge.

The men used to say that, by the time they got to Mushikake, they were so damn hungry they didn't have enough strength left to pull their carts. So they used to break open one of the sacks, grab a handful of raw rice, and chew that to dull the empty feelings in their bellies: they could then just about find enough energy to pull their loads the last few miles into Tsuchiura. When they arrived at the landlord's house they were given a decent meal and paid for their services, and it was only the thought of this bonus that kept them going.

Some of the landless peasants in those days were from families that had never owned land, but quite a lot of them were people who'd originally had a field or two but then been forced to sell them. Banks had a policy of never lending to the poor, you see, and though all farmers needed to borrow a bit of capital to buy seeds and fertilizer, the banks refused point-blank to deal with any of the "problem" cases. So smallholders would have no choice but to borrow money from either a

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wealthy farmer in their village or one of the rich merchants in Tsuchiura. They'd be lent the money against the small plot of land they owned. And what often happened was that the following year they couldn't repay the loan, so all their land was forfeited. There were any number of people who lost their property like this and were reduced to the level of common peasants.

The land in this area was very fertile so rents were high: twelve sacks of rice per acre. But you could only get about twenty-four sacks in all from an acre, and when half of this went in rent, you can imagine how tough it was to make a living. Most tenant farmers couldn't afford to buy fertilizer or anything.

And if a tenant couldn't pay his rice rent the land was, as they used to say, "given away" by the landlord, in other words leased to someone else. The original tenant would be forced to become a day laborer, he might have to sell off his daughter into a brothel or send his younger sons off to work as farmhands for some wealthy landowner and, by reducing the number of people he had to provide for, he'd somehow manage to find enough food to keep body and soul together.

Luckily we owned some land of our own, but my father died when I was only three and my mother had to run both the farm and the house single-handed, working virtually day and night without a moment's rest. But she managed to get by somehow, employing farmhands on one-year contracts and, at the busiest times of the year, during rice transplanting and in the silkworm season, getting a number of women from the Kashima area to come and help her out.

The soil around Kashima was much poorer than here, and the people there found it impossible to make ends meet unless they sent some of the family out to work. So every year several hundred young women from Kashima were packed off by their parents to work on farms in the Tsuchiura area. In our village there was even an agent for all this and if you told him how many girls you needed and when, he'd make all the arrangements for you.

Farmers never had time to go shopping back then, but there was a man with a horse and cart who traveled between Tschiura and the surrounding villages every day who'd fetch things from town for you. He'd buy anything you wanted: crockery, cloth, and hardware. He used to lead his horse through the village early each morning, ringing a little bell; one of the villagers would hear him and shout, "He's here," and people would hurry out to place their order.

Not for fish though: a dealer used to come around with a couple of large buckets attached to a yoke on his shoulders. But the villagers only ate sea fish on a handful of occasions a year, like New Year and during the various festivals. Sea fish could be dangerous: several people died from eating raw shark that had gone off. It took several days to bring up a load from the coast to our village, way inland, so on the whole it was considered pretty risky.

Which reminds me: I suppose some of my worst memories are of the time my eldest son was ill. He was born prematurely, and every day for months after his birth I had to tie him on my back and take him, with the cold wind whistling around my ears, all those miles down to the children's hospital in Tsuchiura. Only the very richest people in those days could afford to call the doctor out to visit them if they were sick. Most farming families left getting the doctor to come out till the patient was on the brink of death, so I had to take the child to the clinic myself. . . . Country people used to pick plants like green gentian [a peptic], cranesbill [an anti-diarrheal], and lizard's tail [used on swellings and boils] when they went up into the mountains to collect firewood, to avoid, as much as possible, having to rely on the services of a doctor. . . .

Let's see. There were also quite a few shops and craftsmen based in the village: a hardware store, a cooper [a maker of barrels and casks], a basket maker, a tofu shop, a grocer's, a clog maker, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a barber; also a man who made spools for spinning silk thread, a man who respun cotton cloth, another who made silkworm egg cards, and a dyer of raw yarn.

Work clothes were made from cloth we wove ourselves; you'd get a dyer to dye the stuff for you, then stitch it up on your own. If you were making a more formal kimono, you'd go and buy patterned material from the draper's. Cloth was so valuable in those days that when it got frayed it was either redyed or reversed and worn inside out, or even just patched up. Even clothes belonging to someone who'd died were divided up among the person's relatives, to be redyed and then worn again.

From Junichi Saga, *Memories of Silk and Straw: A Self-Portrait of Small-Town Japan*, translated by Gary O. Evans. Tokyō: Kodansha International Ltd., 1987, pp.176–179.

Questions

1. Write five adjectives that describe life in Sakura village.
2. What were some of the biggest problems confronting the people of Sakura village? What kinds of measures did people take to make ends meet?
3. Imagine some folks from Sakura village suddenly transported to the Ginza. What would they have thought of the scene around them? What would they have found strange and unusual?

National Unity and Building an Empire

Perhaps the one area that most Japanese could agree about was Japan's role in Asia and the world. Japanese leaders believed that colonial expansion was necessary for economic growth and national security. Colonies supplied new sources for raw materials, new markets for goods, and new economic opportunities for settlers in colonial territories. Military leaders claimed that colonies created a necessary buffer between Japan and its potential enemies, thus safeguarding the home islands. And like Western imperialists before them, the Japanese justified seizing foreign territories by claiming that advanced nations had the right to control "backward" nations and peoples "for their own good." In the last half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the Western world powers were imperial powers. Japan longed for acceptance by these Western nations as an equal on the world stage. Acquiring imperial possessions was an important step to that end. However, Western nations had already established spheres of influence in China and carved up almost all of Africa, much of southeast Asia, and a good portion of the Pacific islands before Japan acquired its first territory.

Japan began building an empire when China ceded it the island of Taiwan as part of the peace settlement following Japan's victory in the Sino–Japanese War in 1895. Along with Taiwan, the Treaty of Shimonoseki awarded Japan control of the Liaodong Peninsula in southern Manchuria. But Russia, Germany, and France, each with its own imperialistic designs on China, pressured Japan into returning the strategic peninsula to Chinese control. (See map in Chapter 1, Section 3.)

Of the western imperial nations competing for influence in China, Japanese leaders believed that Russia posed the gravest threat. Already dominant in much of Manchuria, Russia used clever diplomacy to acquire from China the lease to the Liaodong Peninsula soon after Japan withdrew. As the new century began, Russia stood poised to extend its influence south to Korea. Meiji leaders had long described the Korean peninsula as a threatening dagger pointed at Japan. Because they would not tolerate Russian domination of Korea, a confrontation became inevitable.

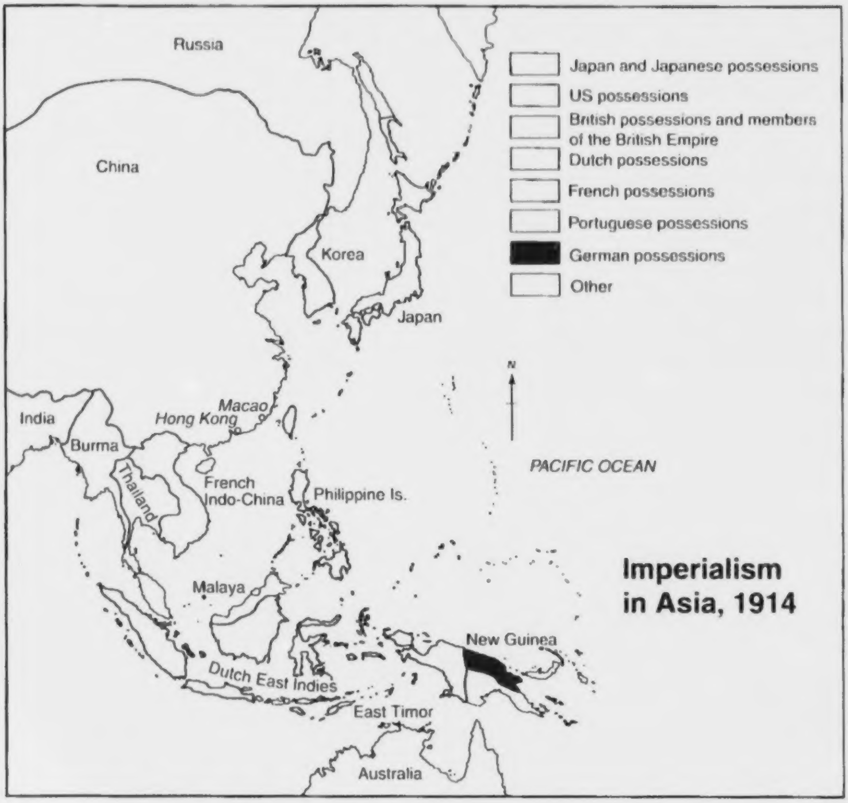
The confrontation finally came in the form of the Russo–Japanese war in 1904, which Japan started and handily won. Japan's stunning victory over Russia gave it control over Korea and earned respect for Japan among the Western nations. The Japanese victory also fanned the flames of Japanese nationalism and engendered widespread public support for the military and further imperialist expansion. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea, a kingdom of thirty million, without formal protest from the Great Powers or China.

Questions

1. What does the map on page 112 suggest about where Japanese and European interests might clash?
2. Compared with other imperial powers, what is unique about the location of Japan's possessions?
3. Which southeast Asian nation was not dominated by a foreign power in 1914?

Relations with China and the West

During World War I (1914–1918) Japan sided with the Allies in declaring war on Germany. Taking


Russia
China
Korea
Japan
India
Macao
Hong Kong
Burma
Thailand
French Indo-China
Philippine Is.
PACIFIC OCEAN
Malaya
New Guinea
Dutch East Indies
East Timor
Australia
N
Japan and Japanese possessions
US possessions
British possessions and members of the British Empire
Dutch possessions
French possessions
Portuguese possessions
German possessions
Other
Imperialism in Asia, 1914

From The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Japan. *New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 89. Adapted and reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press, New York.*

advantage of the Western powers' preoccupation with the war in Europe, Japan seized German colonies in Micronesia and German leasehold territory in the Shandong Peninsula in China. After driving the Germans from Shandong, Japan attempted in 1915 to further expand its economic and political influence in China by insisting that China accept a list of conditions that became known as the "Twenty-one Demands." This ultimatum called for China to grant Japan economic dominance in Manchuria and parts of Mongolia. China reluctantly granted Japan much of what it wanted.

The Twenty-one Demands provoked Chinese hostility toward Japan and distrust from the West. Japan viewed this strong negative response as unfair, feeling that it had behaved no differently toward China than the West had behaved when setting up colonies in Africa and Southeast Asia. Japanese nationalists began advocating a Japan-centered, pan-Asian form of imperialism, arguing that Western nations had no right to interfere in Asian matters. Some of the more extreme nationalists even began to warn about an inevitable war with America and Europe over control of Asia.

At the Paris Peace Conference following World War I, the victorious Allied countries decided to establish a League of Nations to help prevent future wars. A commission of representatives from seventeen nations was formed to write a League covenant. The Japanese asked for a clause supporting racial equality in the covenant. Eleven of the seventeen nations represented on the commission voted to accept the Japanese request. But Britain and the United States were among the nations that either abstained or voted against the clause. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, the chief figure in creating the League, ruled that all decisions of the Commission had to be unanimous, and the clause failed to make the final draft of the Covenant. To Japan, this was a blatant example of discrimination. Ironically, despite Wilson's leadership in creating the League of Nations, Congress voted

In 1928, Chinese students demonstrated against Japan's building a railroad in Manchuria. Courtesy of Kyōtō University Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyōtō.

against U.S. membership. Japan, however, did join and became an active member of the League.

Treaties signed by the major world powers, including Japan, at the Washington Conference, held November 1921 to February 1922, implicitly recognized Japan as the most powerful nation in Asia and prohibited the United States and European powers from building new naval bases in the western Pacific. But one of the treaties put restrictions on the size of the Japanese Imperial Navy. In the Pacific region at least, the American, British, and Japanese fleets were relatively equal in size, but the idea of submitting to the "limits" enforced by the Washington Conference irked Japanese nationalists.

American immigration policies in the 1920s also hurt U.S.–Japan relations and sparked resentment among the Japanese. An anti-Asian movement, spearheaded by racist populist leaders and politicians, swept out of California and across America. In response, Congress passed laws severely limiting Japanese immigration to the United States. To many Japanese, these laws seemed like yet more proof that the United States considered Japan a second-class nation and the Japanese a second-class people. Relations with the United States during the Taishō era remained friendly on the surface, even allowing limited disarmament and cuts in Japanese military spending. But under the surface resentment simmered against the United States.

Woodrow Wilson, the American president during World War I, also indirectly influenced events in China and Korea that created problems for Japanese leaders. During World War I the American president spoke repeatedly of the need for "self-determination"—the idea that a nation has the right to be free from foreign domination and to choose its own form of government. Wilson's strong stance on self-determination helped spark modern nationalist movements in both China and Korea. In the spring of 1919, Chinese and Korean leaders, inspired by Wilson's call for self-determination, launched mass protest demonstrations against Japanese domination in their two nations. The March Nineteenth Movement in Korea and the May Fourth Movement in China began as protests and blossomed into major nationalist movements, demonstrating to Japan that its imperial rule and its intentions on the Asian mainland were not welcome. In China's case, the nationalism that grew out of the May Fourth Movement rallied the Chinese to resist Japan's invasion of their country during World War II.

Conclusion

During the Taishō period, Japanese leaders faced popular demands for greater economic and political rights. Labor unrest and such events as the Taishō Political Crisis in 1913 and the Rice Riots of 1918 revealed deep-rooted and widespread frustration with the practices of government and big business. As a result, Japanese political leaders passed reforms that increased the power of the Diet and reduced the influence of the dwindling group of Meiji *genrō*. Universal manhood suffrage also became law, greatly expanding the electorate. In short, the government became more democratic.

Besides granting these reforms, Japanese leaders passed the Peace Preservation Act of 1925, which made it illegal for anyone to violate the *kokutai*, a vague set of beliefs concerning the unique—and highly undemocratic—relationship among the emperor, the government, and the people. The Peace Preservation Law put loyalty to *kokutai* above freedom of speech and assembly, two essential prerequisites for democracy.

During Taishō the influx of mass culture from the West continued. Western-style clothing, music, movies, and dance halls proliferated in the cities. Along with these superficial aspects of Western culture, Western beliefs about individual rights grew in popularity, challenging traditional beliefs about such matters as women's role in society. Despite the fascination with the West, an undercurrent of disdain for things Western persisted, especially among traditionalists. A good number of rural residents, and even some urban dwellers, found Western customs and ideas decadent, associated with rich, corrupt politicians and businessmen. Traditionalists derided people infatuated with Western imports as cultural traitors who had betrayed their Japanese values.

On the international stage, the respect Japan had won in the eyes of the West with its victory in the Russo–Japanese War turned to distrust after Japan forced China to accept most of its Twenty-one Demands. Agreements and decisions made by the Western powers at the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Conference convinced Japanese nationalists that the West would never regard Japan as equal or allow it to take its rightful place in the world.

Extension Activities

1. Read the accounts of women activists in Chapter Five of *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988). Write a short report or give an oral presentation on the lives these women led. Address the following topics: What were their goals? How did they fit in with conventional Japanese society? What experiences did they have in common? Do you think they made an impact on Japanese society? If so, in what way?
2. Survey your classmates on the topic of marriage. Create a form that asks them to identify and rank three attributes their ideal future spouse must possess. Also ask them to give three desirable attributes that Japanese parents would look for in potential mates when arranging a marriage for their children during the first part of the twentieth century. Analyze the results of the survey by grouping the responses into categories, such as personality, physical appearance, economic status, family background, and so forth. Compare what your classmates chose as attributes for their own future spouses with the attributes they think Japanese parents might have wanted for their children's spouses. Report your findings to the class.
3. Japanese imperialism in China and Korea met stiff resistance in both nations. Unlike most of Africa, where European powers arbitrarily drew new borders and created colonies, China and Korea were established nations with several thousand years of history. Both Chinese and Koreans had a strong sense of national identity that made Japanese control of their countries difficult. In fact, the beginnings of modern mass nationalist movements in both Korea and China grew out of resistance to Japanese domination. Research the May Fourth Movement in China and the March Nineteenth Movement in Korea. You will find more than ample information in any survey text on modern Chinese and modern Korean history. In a written or oral report explain how these two movements began and how Japan initially responded to them.
4. During the first part of the twentieth century, the government and big business worked hard to suppress labor leaders and unions in Japan. But was the situation much different in the United States or Great Britain? Look at sources that have information on labor history in the United States and in Great Britain during the early part of the century to gain perspective on labor unrest in Japan during the same time. Report your findings to the class.
5. Write a book report on the novel *Spring Snow* by Mishima Yukio (New York, NY: Knopf, 1972), one of Japan's most acclaimed authors. This novel, set in 1912 Tōkyō, revolves around the changing dynamics of Japanese politics.

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Section

2

Shōwa: Economic Crisis and the Rise of Militarism, 1926–1937

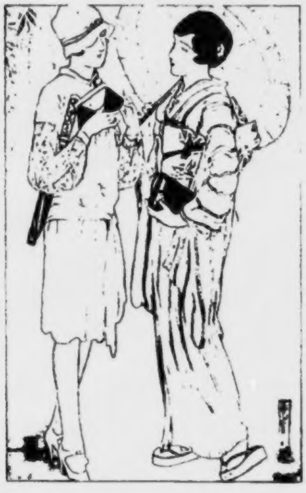
The Shōwa era (1926–1989) began in 1926 when Hirohito ascended the Chrysanthemum Throne at the age of twenty-five. In this section we look at how ultranationalists in the military, with widespread popular support, exploited worsening economic conditions in the first years of the young emperor's reign to expand Japan's imperial boundaries, put heavy pressure on civilian government leaders, and start Japan on the road to war.

Hirohito, 1928. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

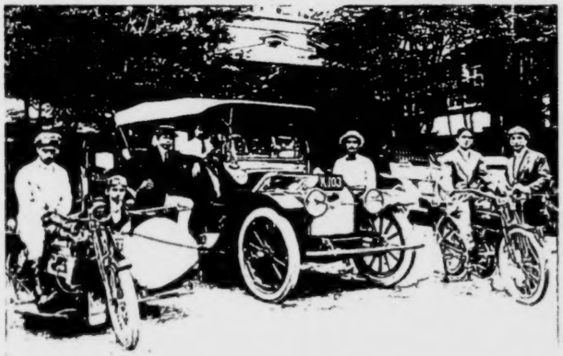
A Divided Society and a Faltering Economy

During the Taishō and early Shōwa periods, citizens and labor unions demanded more participation in the political process and a say in governmental and economic policies. Eventually the government granted more rights to workers and universal suffrage for men.

Yet resentment of politicians and the *zaibatsu*—huge business conglomerates that dominated the Japanese economy—grew widespread. As *zaibatsu* owners and managers and other economic elites prospered, the standard of living for most Japanese improved little, if at all. Many Japanese saw big business and politicians, many of whom profited from close ties with *zaibatsu* interests, as unpatriotic and selfish, concerned only with amassing wealth. It was also the rich, along with an emerging urban middle class, who led the way in embracing aspects of Western culture, from clothing styles, music, and entertainment to Western



Two stylish women of means display traditional and modern dress, ca. 1928. Courtesy of Yayoi Museum of Art, Tōkyō.



Young men pose in an American Studebaker automobile. Only the wealthy could afford such luxuries in Taishō and early Shōwa Japan. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era] *1985, v. 2, p. 189.*

Depositors wait outside the main branch of the Kinko Bank in Ōsaka, which closed for business on April 18, 1927. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

ways of thinking that stressed the importance of the individual—a very foreign notion.

In a sense there were two Japans. The cities became centers of industry, wealth, modernization, Westernization, and intellectual and social reform movements; the countryside remained mostly conservative, in line with traditional Japanese values. The political and social goings-on in the city unsettled many rural residents, who saw the cities as hotbeds of immorality populated by corrupt politicians and businessmen and by decadent young people who rejected tradition and indulged themselves in pleasure-seeking and individualism.

By the mid-1920s the economy was showing signs of severe strain. Foreign trade and industrial production had fallen off following an economic boom brought on by World War I. Huge government spending for rebuilding Tōkyō after the Great Quake of 1923 further hindered industrial progress, spawning a vicious cycle of inflation and government spending. In 1927 a series of bank crises led to panicked depositors trying to withdraw their money. This panic toppled many small commercial banks. Recession followed on the heels of the financial panic, creating new hardships for the people and intensifying social problems.

Rural Japan bore the brunt of the economic downturn. Spiraling inflation devastated many small farmers, who fell into debt and lost their farms. The following 1932 newspaper article tells the story of a government investigation into conditions in several Japanese prefectures. On top of economic depression, famine struck large areas of northeastern Japan in the early 1930s. Despite widespread suffering and desperate conditions, the government did little to lower the hefty taxes on rural residents.

Starving Farmers

Starvation conditions in Japan's richest farming and silk districts are described in the preliminary reports of four officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry who were dispatched to investigate actual conditions in Nagano, Iwate, Niigata and Hyogo (Kobe) prefectures. These reports, received yesterday, tell of unbelievable conditions. Theft of food in some places has grown beyond the power of the police to control. Money is so scarce that barter is general. Children are being sold, a fifteen-year-old graduate of a primary school going for ¥400. Incendiarism[1] for the insurance is common. Barnyard fodder and fish fertilizer are being eaten to sustain life.

Concurrent with the publication of these reports comes the announcement that the Police Affairs Bureau of the Home Ministry has decided on strict measures to prevent farmers from presenting petitions asking the Diet to relieve their conditions. The authorities, while instructing prefectural governors to make sympathetic inquiries into the true state of affairs, declare that certain reactionary and radical organizations seem to be taking advantage of the bitterness of the farmers to start movements designed to overthrow the present political order. . . .

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[1] arson

[An official who went to Nagano reports] "There are numerous villages that are already beyond what we have been taught to consider poverty. Conditions are such that thefts of rice, sugar, soy sauce, salt and other provisions are the rule, not the exception. . . . The official who went to Niigata Prefecture, the home of Japan's oil industry and noted as the birthplace of the most beautiful women in Japan, declared the conditions are so terrible that hundreds of families are selling their daughters into brothels.

One of the stories told by the delegation concerned the village of Goka, in northern Nagano, which has 700 households and 100 peasant proprietors, renting land to others. Nowadays these landowners don't even attempt to collect the rice due them in rent. Once upon a time they did and Goka was noted for its regular autumn disputes between tenants and landlords. Now they are confronting themselves to practical matters. Rent collection is not practicable.

Children eating daikon *(white turnip) during a famine in 1934. From* A Century of Japanese Photography *by Japan Photographers Association. New York: Random House, Inc., 1980, p. 282.*

The young men who make up the fire brigade and Young Men's Association are becoming more and more radical in tendency. There is no rice, no wheat, and other edibles are just about at the point of exhaustion. Everyone is on the same footing. Those formerly considered wealthy are wealthy no longer. Their rents have stopped. So have tenant disputes. Each person is dependent on what he can get from the soil and what he can sell it for. . . .

Mr. Hiroshi Seki, leader of the delegation [that met with government officials] gave a minute description of farm conditions to Mr. Akita [member of the House of Representatives] on the occasion of the morning interview. In conclusion he said, "We are not exaggerating in any particular way. Even in the days of the Tokugawa Shogunate the farmers were able to store some food. Today's administration is a tyranny. If things are left to their own course our system of self-government will be disrupted. The authorities must provide fundamental plans to relieve the hardships of the farmers. They cannot evade us by saying that 'the questions are being considered and investigated'"

From "Starving Farmers," *Japan Advertiser*, June 8, 1932, p.8.

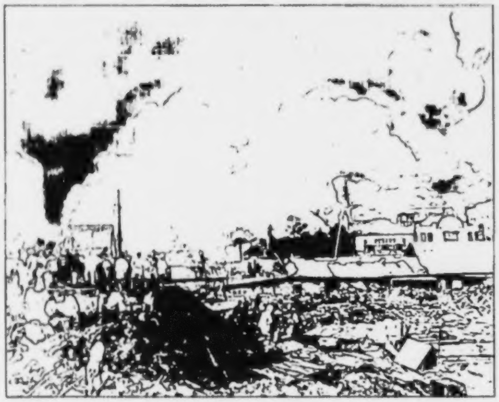
Questions

1. Use five adjectives to describe the living conditions reported in the article.
2. What extreme actions did many take to survive?
3. How did the farmers feel about what the government had done to help them? What did they warn would happen if the government didn't take steps to improve their conditions?

Discontent Spreads

Rural residents bitterly resented the political and business establishments, whom they blamed for their plight and the country's social ills. Many felt as if their nation was spinning out of control and that the only way to restore order and harmony would be through a nationwide return to traditional

The Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923



Courtesy of Kyodo News, Tōkyō.

On September 1, 1923, one of the most massive earthquakes in Japanese history rocked Yokohama, Kamakura, and Tōkyō. Fires caused by the quake quickly engulfed the capital. Landslides and tidal waves generated by the quake added to the confusion, destruction, and death. In and around the Tōkyō area over 100,000 lost their lives, half a million were injured, and two million were left homeless. In the mass panic that followed, newspapers compounded the tragedy by printing rumors that Koreans, brought to Japan as laborers, were setting fires, looting, and poisoning wells. Newspapers further reported that socialists were trying to take advantage of the disaster by inciting riots. As a result, vigilante mobs killed hundreds of innocent Koreans, and some police rounded up and executed suspected socialists and labor leaders. The fires and mass hysteria lasted for days. When the flames had been doused and calm restored, Tōkyō lay in ruins. The monumental task of rebuilding the capital, although accomplished relatively quickly, slowed the pace of economic development and severely strained the Japanese economy. But from the ashes and devastation emerged a new and more modern Tōkyō, a new city with broad boulevards and steel-and-concrete buildings in districts that resembled American and European cities.

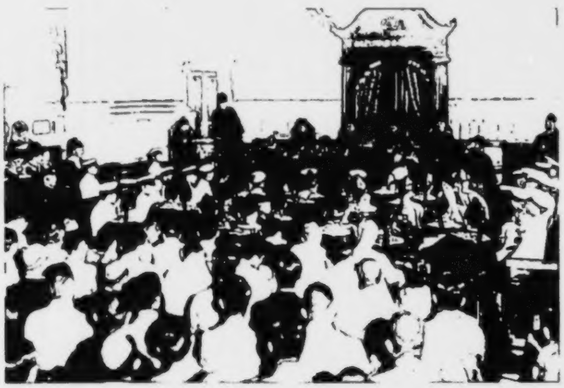
Japanese values. Many young officers in the army—which the public esteemed for its victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1905)—began to share the same view. Because most army recruits came from the impoverished countryside, a strong bond grew between the army and poor rural Japanese. Many young soldiers held strongly to the values of honor, sacrifice, and loyalty—qualities they found sorely lacking in Japan's political and business leaders. They too condemned politicians and businessmen for the insufferable conditions their families and friends had to endure. Many of them served, in large part, out of a sense of duty to the emperor and the nation and saw themselves as guardians of the *kokutai*. The bond between the military and rural Japan was strengthened through the Reserve Officers Associations found in almost every Japanese community. Army officers who directed compulsory military and patriotic training in rural schools also intensified the bond.

As Japan's economic crisis deepened, nationalist agitators began gaining support among the general population and younger army and navy officers. The more extreme nationalists blamed Japan's problems on those primarily political and business leaders who had apparently embraced Western political ideologies, materialism, and individualism. They accused these men of leading Japan down the path to ruin. These ultranationalists considered Japan's culture superior to the West's and called for a Shōwa Restoration—a nationwide return to traditional Japanese values and restoration of power to the emperor—to save Japan from corrupt politicians, big business, and Western influence. Believing that they were latter-day patriots like the men who launched the Meiji Restoration (see Chapter 2, Section 1), the ultranationalists felt that only the military possessed the pure spirit and strong resolve to reform and renew Japanese politics and society.

Activity: A Dramatic Reading

Convinced that politicians and businessmen had no concern for the plight of the rural and urban poor, right-wing nationalist extremists took matters into their own hands in the early 1930s by assassinating some political and business figures. So reviled had politicians and businessmen become that many Japanese saw the assassins as heroes acting out of morally pure and patriotic motives to save the nation. When the assassins were arrested and tried, they—not their victims—often received the public's sympathetic support.

In 1931 civilian and military ultranationalists became so emboldened as to launch two attempts to seize power from the government. Both plots failed. On May 15 of the next year, a group of young army cadets and navy officers, supported by zealous civilian ultranationalists, attempted to overthrow the government and establish a Shōwa Restoration. As part of their plan they targeted certain business and political leaders for assassination. But they succeeded in killing only Prime Minister Inukai. The coup d'état failed, and the young rebels surrendered.



At the end of their trial, the court hands down sentences to those implicated in the May 15 incident. Courtesy of Kyodo News, Tōkyō.

On May 16 the *Hokkai Shimbun* published a manifesto issued by the rebelling cadets in which they tried to explain their actions to the people.

1. Your teacher will divide the class into groups of four.
2. You are now part of a group of four cadets involved in the May 15 coup attempt. Your job is to persuade the people that your actions are justified. You will do this by reading the cadets' manifesto aloud, as if you were addressing all of Japan.
3. Students will take turns reading portions of the manifesto aloud. Decide which cadet will read which sentences.
4. Practice reading the manifesto in a way you think will win people to your cause.
5. Perform your reading in front of the class. Students will decide which group's reading is the most effective.
6. After performing, answer the questions that follow the manifesto.

The May 15 Manifesto

Japanese people! In politics, diplomacy, economics, national education, ideas, military affairs, where is the countenance of our sacred Japan?

Japan suffers because political parties are so completely immersed in questions of political power and party interests, because the plutocrats in union with them squeeze the sweat and blood out of the people, because the authorities support them and daily increase repression, because the foreign policy is weak, because national education is on the wane, and because there is ideological disintegration.

Japan is even now ready to crash. If reforms are not instituted immediately, then Japan will perish. People! Take arms and arise. Now the only way to deliverance is through "direct action." There is no other way. People! In the name of the Emperor, put to death the evil officials of the imperial court, kill the plutocrats and the present political parties, which are enemies of the people.

> Punish those who misuse power, kill off the traitorous privileged class.
>
> Peasants, workers, all people, defend your fatherland—Japan. Return to the spirit of building the state under the aegis of the Emperor. Appoint to government positions people imbued with the great national spirit, build a glorious restored Japan. People! Think of this construction. First, destroy. Destroy the foul political parties existing at present. Before the great construction, the old must be thoroughly destroyed. Risking the present position of Japan, we want to raise the banner of the Shōwa Restoration. Naturally we do not deviate either to the existing Right or Left organizations. The success or the fall of Japan does not depend on what we (the vanguard of the nation) accomplish: it depends on your actions, on the actions of the people, imbued with our spirit. Wake up, arise, let us create a true Japan.
>
> The appeal is signed: "Like-minded peasants and young officers of the army and navy."

From O. Tanin and E. Yohan, *Militarism and Fascism in Japan*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973, p. 216.

1. According to the manifesto,
   a. What or who were the causes of Japan's problems?
   b. What did the young officers mean when they called for "direct action"?
   c. What did government figures lack that was necessary to build "a glorious and restored Japan"?
2. Do you think the young officers thought their actions were treasonous? Explain your answer.
3. What segment of society do you think this manifesto may have appealed to most?
4. What did the young officers mean when they said, "We want to raise the banner of the Shōwa Restoration"?
5. Following the failed coup, the young officers were promptly arrested. Their sentences were lenient—four to fifteen years—and most of those sentences were commuted. Overthrowing the government is a grave offense. In your opinion, why was their punishment so light?

Growing Militarism

Japan's economy was mired in depression. The army pressured the government to expand its control over parts of China, arguing that resources in Manchuria and North China could revive the nation's economy. Japan already controlled much

In Manchuria the Kwantung Army marches outside the walls of a Chinese village, ca. 1931. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

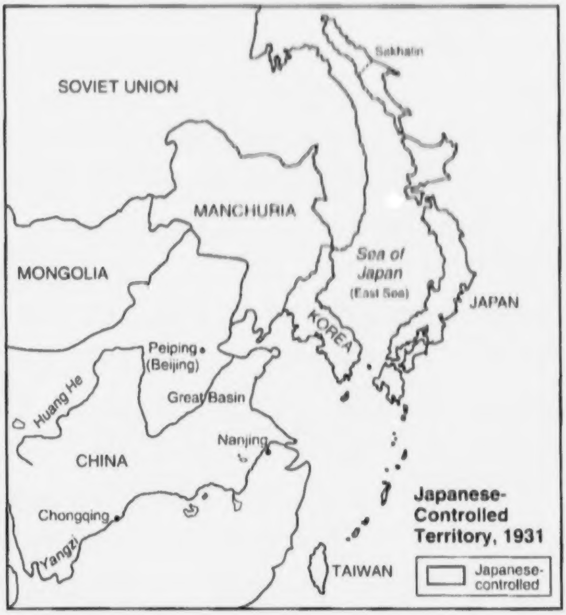
of Manchuria through an easily manipulated Chinese warlord. But growing Chinese nationalism and the unification of much of China by Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1920s threatened Japan's position in Manchuria. In September 1931, the Kwantung Army (the Japanese forces stationed in Manchuria) launched an attack against Chinese troops in Mukden, conquering the northern Chinese province in a few months.

What is remarkable about this attack is that it was ordered by the military independently of the central government in Tōkyō. The sudden attack—planned, designed, and launched by junior army officers—directly defied Japan's official policy of trying to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Chinese. Instead of halting the upstart junior officers and attempting to control the situation, senior officers extended the fighting, and the Kwantung Army marched on. Although the attack caught the central government off guard, it did not act decisively to curb the Kwantung Army.

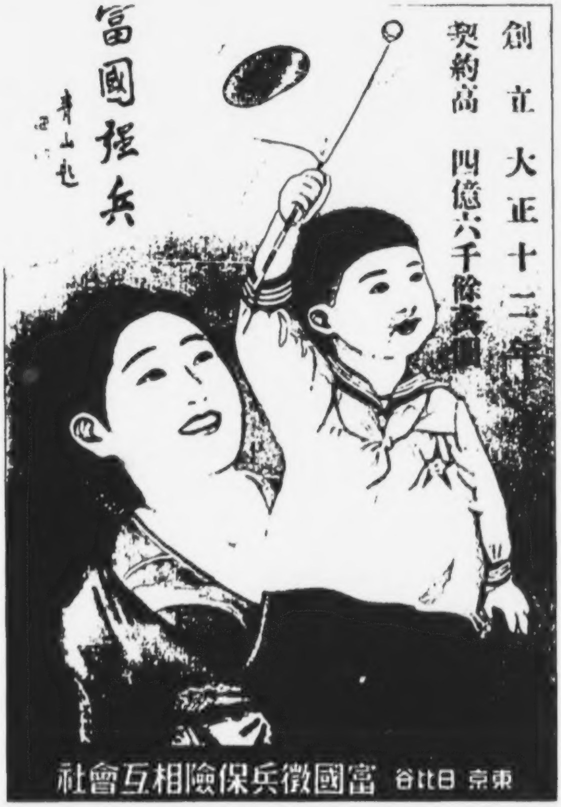
The conquest of Manchuria cast an ominous cloud over the government in Tōkyō. The young officers' conspiracy had reignited open conflict with China, and the prime minister and his cabinet had failed to stop it. The army's success following the incident was hugely popular among the Japanese people, further fueling their nationalist passions. Many people saw the military as acting decisively to alleviate the nation's economic woes, in shocking contrast to the nation's impotent political leaders. Officials who tried to restrain the Kwantung Army and end the fighting became targets of public condemnation, and many newspapers took on a decidedly nationalistic slant.

The army's victories on the continent kindled enthusiastic support for a larger military role in the government and for greater military spending. The government began pumping money into arms production, sparking a recovery in Japan's economy. Established *zaibatsu* had already hopped on the militarist bandwagon, and new *zaibatsu* such as Nissan emerged and profited by specializing in military-related industries and in development in Korea and Manchuria. To combat their image as unpatriotic and selfish, *zaibatsu* leaders staunchly supported the military and established social welfare programs. It seemed as if all Japan—city and country, farmers, politicians, and businessmen—had joined in spirited support of Japan's victorious army. Those who opposed the army's mounting influence were increasingly scorned or ridiculed.

In 1932 Japan created what it called Manchukuo, a supposedly independent nation in Manchuria. In reality Manchukuo was a puppet state controlled from Tōkyō, and very few nations recognized it as a legitimate nation. In fact, most of the world decried Japan's seizing Manchuria and creating Manchukuo. During the fighting, Japanese planes had bombed civilian targets in Shanghai—the first attack of its kind in history. As criticism of the attack poured in from every corner of the globe, Japan was more and more isolated from the world community. After Manchuria fell, Western powers prodded the League of Nations to investigate the Kwantung Army's actions in Manchuria. The Japanese people were outraged.

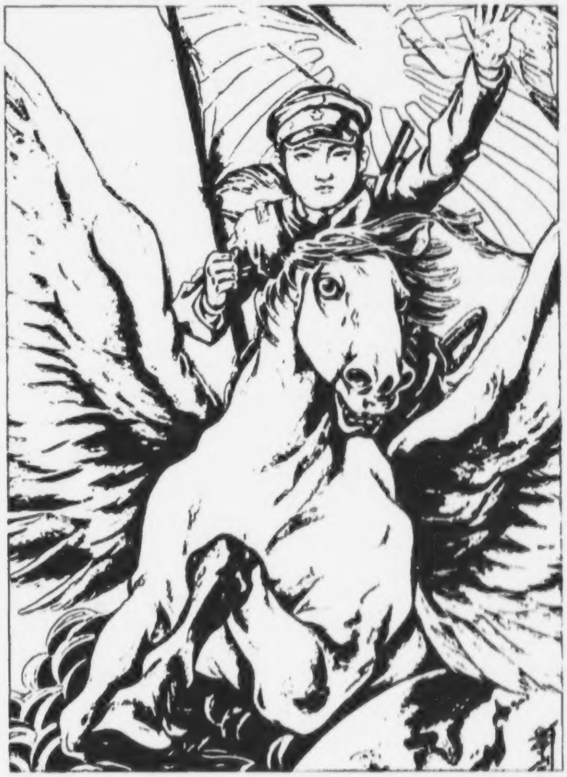


For decades Japan had seen itself as a victim of a double standard held by the Western nations. Japan sought international respect as an imperial power on an equal footing with Europe and the United States, yet felt repeatedly slighted by the West. For example:


創立大正十二年
契約高四億六千餘萬圓
富國強兵
青山也
東京日比谷
富國徴兵保險相互會社

The growing patriotic mood of Japan is reflected in a conscript insurance poster. The slogan "Rich Country, Strong Army" appears on the poster. When a young man responsible for the economic well-being of his family was drafted into the army, his family could buy insurance to help make ends meet. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 5, p. 15.*

- European nations tried to thwart Japanese expansion in China while dividing it among themselves. (See "Imperialism in Asia, 1914" map in Chapter 2, Section 1.)
- The League of Nations commission rejected a Japan-proposed clause in the League covenant that would have endorsed the idea of racial equality.
- At the Washington Naval Conference in 1921–1922 and again at the London Naval Conference in 1930, the size of the Japanese navy was restricted to keep it smaller than its American and British counterparts.



The painting "Youth Astride A White Horse" depicts a boy waving the flag of the Imperial Navy. The painting supposedly showed the dynamic strength of Japan and its youth, along with their sense of mission to spread overseas, symbolized by the globe at the foot of the horse. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 4, p. 111.*

For many Japanese the Western outcry over Manchuria showed once again that America and Europe were resolved to keep Japan a second-class imperial power.

The following editorial, "Japan Is Ready to Fight the World," appeared as a translated reprint in the October 20, 1931, *Japan Advertiser*, right after the League of Nations decided to investigate the Japanese takeover of Manchuria. The League asked the United States, a nonmember, to assist in the investigation. This act infuriated the Japanese government, which felt that the League was being unfair to Japan. Read this staunchly nationalistic editorial and answer the questions that follow it.

Japan Is Ready to Fight the World

The true nature of the League of Nations has been revealed. It is nothing but an agency of illicit intercourse between Europe and America; and its paramount object is to establish despotism of the white race and to remove all obstacles in its path. This is all there is to the League. The white race sometimes advocates justice and humanity, but this insistence is secondary. When something seems to interfere with their despotism, they suddenly come to their senses and show their cloven feet.

There was once a man named Woodrow Wilson,[2] a typical world hypocrite and a symbol of America's spiritual side. There are even some Japanese under an illusion who regard Wilson as a sort of deity. When it came to the question of racial equality, he showed himself below the level of an ordinary man. He was prejudice itself. When Japan submitted its racial equality plan at the Versailles conference, Wilson instructed, rather demanded, it be rejected unanimously. This attitude of the United States, symbolized in Wilson, is now being reflected by the League Council.

The council determined that unanimity was not necessary to invite American participation, because it realized that this requirement would have defeated the invitation. This decision was the most effective means of frustrating Japan's opposition. In short, the League of Nations is an organization of hobgoblins or "foxes and badgers" whose profession is to deceive men. There is no room for doubt but that the question of American participation was the result of the illicit intercourse between Europe and America.

The world, after all, is now Japan's enemy. It is the desire of other nations to check Japan's natural development. To Japan, therefore, the rest of the world is unnecessary. The United States, especially, is most obnoxious to us. What benefits has Japan obtained from close relations with America? Is there any advantage in baseball, dancing, birth control and what not? Japan's economic position is steadily moving towards self-supply and self-demand. If Europe denies Japan, Japan should voluntarily deny Europe. If America rejects Japan, Japan should of its own accord sever relations. If the world, with America as its center, stands against Japan, Japan will be glad to meet it in a suitable manner.

From "Japan Is Ready to Fight the World," *Japan Advertiser*, October 20, 1931, p. 3.

Questions

1. What was the overall tone of the editorial?
2. According to the editorial, what showed Woodrow Wilson to be a hypocrite?
3. According to the editorial, how were Western leaders racist in their dealings with Japan?
4. According to the editorial, what was the true purpose of the League of Nations?
5. According to the editorial, how should Japan have treated the United States and Europe if they had continued to deny Japan's right to control Manchuria?
6. Reread the second sentence of the last paragraph. In the context of imperialism, what do you think the phrase "Japan's natural development" meant?
7. If you were a Japanese citizen, how might an editorial like this have affected your feelings toward the United States and the rest of the world?

The Militarists' Rise to Power

In 1932 the League adopted the report of the Lytton Commission, which had investigated Japanese actions in Manchuria. The report condemned Japan as the aggressor, declared Manchukuo a mere puppet state, and called on "all foreign forces"—mainly Japan—to withdraw from Manchuria. In protest, Japan angrily quit the League of Nations in 1933, further isolating itself from the international community. More and more Japanese began to believe that war with the West was inevitable. Their growing war mentality created an atmosphere that fostered the militarists' intention to take over the county.

The Kwantung Army's conquest of Manchuria in 1931 and Prime Minister Inukai's assassination in 1932 marked the end of party government and the beginning of the rise of the militarists to power. More and more Japanese came to believe that only the army could lead effectively in this time of economic and political crisis. From this point on, the militarists' clout in government matters grew steadily. No longer were cabinet members and prime ministers selected on the strength of their parties' representation in the Diet. What counted now was their ability to get along with the militarists.

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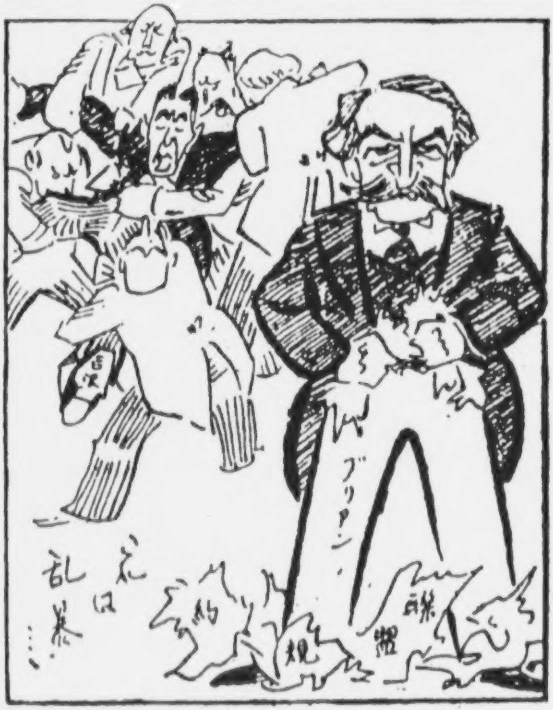
[2] President of the United States and enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations.

Even with the military gaining power in the government, ultranationalist officers in the army again attempted to seize control on February 26, 1936. Some 1400 rebel soldiers captured key government buildings in Tōkyō and killed a number of high-ranking officials and political leaders, hoping that their actions would trigger a spontaneous uprising leading to the army's takeover of the government. The rebels, like their predecessors in 1932, demanded a Shōwa Restoration be established. But the emperor adamantly insisted the uprising be put down. Finally, after several tense days of standoff, the rebel troops surrendered.

This time there was little sympathy for the mutinous soldiers, as their trials were held in secret, and their punishment was swift and severe. Nineteen men were executed for their role in the uprising. A purge of the army followed immediately after the failed coup. Generals and other officers linked to the faction blamed for the insurrection were retired or removed from their posts.

The purge removed one army faction, but it enabled the other faction to control the army. The military proceeded to meddle further in political affairs. For example, the army revived a Meiji-era provision limiting the candidates eligible to serve as ministers of war and navy to active-duty generals and admirals. The rule had been abolished in 1913 (though no nonmilitary man had ever taken either post), but now the army was emboldened enough to leave no doubt about its power within the government. The war and navy ministers already enjoyed a special autonomous status within the government (see the previous section for more on their role in the cabinet), and now they had increased their influence. Thereafter the military, especially the army, had a strong voice in selecting the prime minister and making up the cabinet.

Another Scrap of Paper



Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister who crafted two peace pacts in Europe following World War I, is depicted tearing up the Covenant of the League of Nations by admitting a nonmember—a violation of the Covenant—to the League Council's sessions. Other members of the Council forcefully restrain the angry Japanese delegate. By Etsuro Kato, October 26, 1931. Courtesy of The Japan Times, *Tōkyō.*

The most forceful voices now were those of the militarists—those who backed the military and its ideals and policies. To consolidate their control over the government and the society, the ever more militaristic authorities—often with widespread support from the government bureaucracy, the Diet, and the general population—began to crack down on dissidents and liberals, whom they considered dangerous. Censorship of the press and suppression of "dangerous thoughts," especially from 1937 to 1945, succeeded in stifling free speech and public criticism of the militarist-controlled government. By carefully screening information delivered to the public, government leaders managed to unite the nation under the ideology of *kokutai*.

Kokutai no Hongi

Well before the coming of Commodore Perry's black ships in 1853, Japanese leaders and subjects had gone through alternating periods of embracing and rebuffing features of Western culture. With the rise of the militarists in the 1930s, the debate over adopting or rejecting Western ideologies halted. Fiercely nationalistic military leaders declared Western ideologies, such as communism, socialism, and democracy, incompatible with Japanese *kokutai*. *Kokutai* is often translated as "national polity" or "national entity." Before publication of *Kokutai no Hongi*, it was a somewhat vague term meaning roughly the unity of the government, the emperor, and the people through shared values and a common cultural heritage.

The Emperor Asserts Himself

Rebel troops return to their barracks after the coup attempt fizzled. Some soldiers still wear white headbands that demonstrated their will to succeed. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

The leading force in putting down the February 26 revolt was the emperor himself. This act was remarkable in that Hirohito almost never meddled in the government's decisions. Perhaps the two most important actions he insisted the government perform during his reign were the crushing of the coup attempt on the February 26, 1936, and the surrendering of Japanese forces in August 1945. In the 1936 insurrection, Hirohito went so far as to threaten to personally lead a force against the rebel strongholds if they didn't surrender—not the kind of behavior one would expect from a "figurehead" monarch.

Yet most of the time Hirohito seemed content with the figurehead role. On the rare occasions he attempted to influence the day-to-day workings of government, such as by suggesting budget revisions or expressing his views on candidates for appointment to office, the emperor was largely ignored by his own advisers and government officials. In fact, Hirohito had opposed the Kwantung Army's actions in Manchuria, but he did nothing to rein in the renegade troops. He merely expressed his disapproval of their actions to his closest advisers. The emperor's willingness—or ability— to assert himself only on rare occasions has caused historians to debate his responsibility for government and military policies carried out during his reign.

In 1937 the government, now firmly under the grip of the military, published *Kokutai no Hongi*, "Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan." This book spelled out the elements of *kokutai*. In short, it described what it meant to be Japanese and explained why Western culture and institutions, based on individualism, were inferior and ill-suited to Japan.

The *Kokutai no Hongi* was used widely in Japanese schools to promote the ultranationalist views of the entrenched militarists. As the military tightened its control, and especially during the war years, subjects who were even suspected of disagreeing with the precepts in the *Kokutai no Hongi* were often arrested under the provisions of the 1925 Peace Preservation Law.

Read the following table of contents from the *Kokutai no Hongi* and answer the questions that follow.

KOKUTAI NO HONGI

I. The Founding of the Nation
  - Beginning of Heaven and Earth
  - The Making and Consolidating
  - Amaterasu Ohmikami (Heavenly-Shining-Great-August-Deity) [Sun Goddess]
  - The Oracle and the Descent of the Sun Goddess's Grandson
  - The Throne's Being Coeval [of the same or equal age] with Heaven and Earth
  - The Three Sacred Treasures (of the Imperial Court)

II. The Sacred Virtues
  - The Emperor
  - Piety
  - Concord of Religious Rites, Administration, and Education
  - The August Spirit of National Administration
  - Love for the People

III. The Way of the Subjects
  - The Subjects
  - Loyalty and Patriotism
  - Filial Piety
  - Loyalty and Filial Piety as One

IV. Harmony and Truth
  - Harmony
  - The Martial Spirit
  - Musubi [creation] and Harmony
  - Harmony between "God" and Man
  - Harmony between Man and Nature
  - Mutual Harmony among the People
  - Sovereign and Subjects in One
  - Truth

Questions

1. From the topics listed in Section 1, what can you conclude that the authors of this book wanted readers to believe about the origins of Japan?
2. Section 2 includes the topics "The Emperor," "Piety," and "Love for the People." How do you suppose piety entered into the relationship between the emperor and the people?
3. What do the topics listed in Section 4 suggest about the ways the people were united as one?

The following excerpts come from Section 3. Read the excerpts and answer the questions that follow.

KOKUTAI NO HONGI

Loyalty means to reverence the Emperor as [our] pivot and to follow him implicitly. By implicit obedience is meant casting ourselves aside and serving the Emperor intently. To walk this Way of loyalty is the sole Way in which we subjects may "live," and the fountainhead of all energy. Hence, offering our lives for the sake of the Emperor does not mean self-sacrifice, but the casting aside of our little selves to live under his august grace and enhancing of the genuine life of the people of a State.

* * * *

To begin with, our country is one great family nation [comprising] a union of sovereign and subject, having the Imperial Household as the head family, and looking up to the Emperor as the focal point from the old to the present. Accordingly, to contribute to the prosperity of the nation is to serve for the prosperity of the Emperor; and to be loyal to the Emperor means nothing short of loving the country and striving for the welfare of the nation. Without loyalty there is no patriotism, and without patriotism there is no loyalty. . . . Of course, in foreign countries, too, there exists a spirit of patriotism. But this patriotism is not of a kind which, like in our country, is from the very roots one with loyalty and in perfect accord with reverence for the deities and the ancestors.

* * * *

In our country filial piety is a Way of the highest importance. Filial piety originates with one's family as its basis, and in its larger sense has the nation for its foundation. Filial piety directly has for its object one's parents, but in its relationship toward the Emperor finds a place within loyalty. The life of a family in our country is not confined to the present life of a household of parents and children, but beginning with the distant ancestors, is carried on eternally by the descendants. The present life of a family is a link between the past and the future . . . Our country is a great family nation, and the Imperial Household is the head of the family of the subjects and the nucleus of national life. The subjects revere the Imperial Household, which is the head family, with the tender esteem [they have] for their ancestors; and the Emperor loves his subjects as his very own.

* * * *

Since our ancestors rendered assistance to the spreading of the Imperial enterprises by the successive Emperors, for us to show loyalty to the Emperors is in effect a manifestation of the manners and customs of our ancestors; and this is why we show filial piety to our forefathers. In our country there is no filial piety apart from loyalty, and filial piety has loyalty for its basis.

From *Kokutai No Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*, translated by John Owen Gauntlett, and edited with an introduction by Robert King Hall. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949. Table of Contents and pp. 80, 83, 87, 89–90.

Questions

1. According to the reading, how did subjects have to serve the emperor?
2. According to the reading, what was the difference between patriotism in Japan and patriotism in other countries?
3. Japanese military leaders were accused by the West of fostering an emperor "cult." Look up *cult* in a dictionary. Judging from the table of contents and the excerpts from the *Kokutai no Hongi*, do you believe this accusation to be true? Explain your answer and show evidence for your position.
4. From reading the excerpts and the table of contents, in what ways do you think the authors felt that *kokutai* was unique to the Japanese?
5. From reading the table of contents and the excerpts, how do you think the topics and beliefs presented in the *Kokutai no Hongi* might have been useful to Japanese military leaders preparing for war in 1937?

Promoting Unity of Thought

From the Meiji period on, the Ministry of Education played a large part in promoting nationalism and patriotism. During Shōwa the ministry distributed the *Kokutai no Hongi* to schools and urged students to dedicate themselves to serving the emperor and the nation. The ministry also required that lessons on patriotism be taught in all Japanese schools. Because the ministry dictated that all schools use the same textbooks, students all over the country studied lessons such as "The Sailor's Mother."

This lesson appeared in the Japanese language textbook used nationwide in prewar Japan.

Lesson 7. The Sailor's Mother

The time was the Sino–Japanese War of 1894–1895. A sailor on one of our warships, the *Takachiho*, was weeping as he read a letter in a woman's hand. The admiral, who happened to pass by, was enraged at his unmanly behavior.

"What's this? Afraid to die or are you pining for your wife and kids?" the admiral berated him sharply. "You're in the military now, and you should regard going into battle as an honor worthy of a man. But look at you! Your behavior brings shame on our ship and the whole empire."

The startled sailor stood up, looked the admiral in the eye briefly, then hung his head.

"You've misjudged me, sir. I don't have a wife or child. I'm a true man and Japanese. Why would I hesitate to die?" he said. "But please, look at this," said the sailor, holding out the letter.

The admiral took the letter and read it.

I am sorry to hear you did not take part in the fighting for Hoto and played no special role in the attack on Ilai-ie on August 10. Why, I wonder, did you go to war? Was it not so that you could give your life to serve the emperor? The villagers are very kind and helpful to me. "You mustn't suffer because your only son has gone to war," they say. "Don't hesitate to ask our help." The sight of their kindly faces reminds me of your unmanly behavior, and I feel as though my heart were breaking. I go to the shrine of the God of War daily to pray that you will be able to give a good account of yourself in battle. But I am only human and cannot hate my son. Please try to understand how I am feeling as I write this.

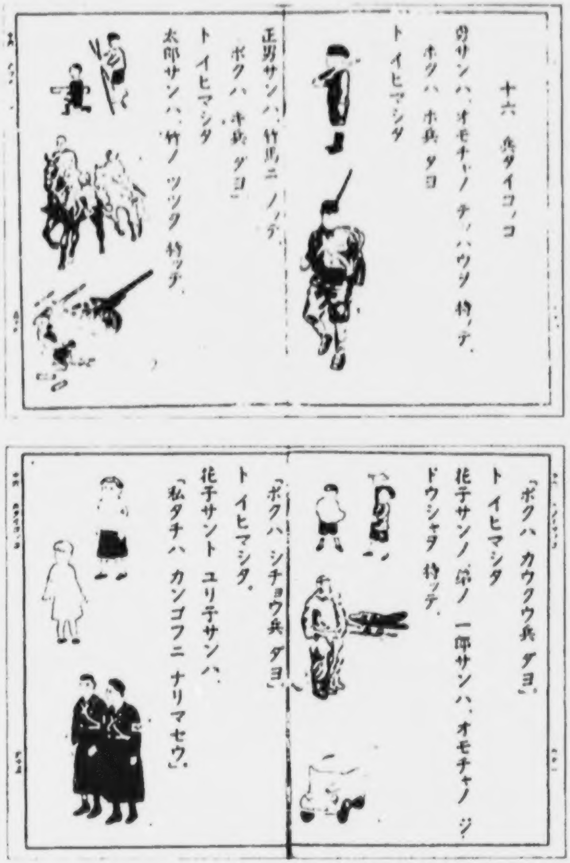
Reading this the admiral found himself weeping, too. He gripped the sailor's hand. "I apologize. What a woman your mother is! And you must be disappointed, too. But modern warfare does not give opportunities to win individual glory we had in the past. Officers and enlisted men must move as one. All must follow orders of their superiors and work to perform their duties. Your mother says you should give your life to serve the Emperor, but the opportunity has not yet come your way. Everyone serving on this ship is disappointed at not joining the battle for Hoto, but there was nothing we could do about it. I'm sure we'll have our opportunity for some brilliant fighting soon enough. When the time comes, we'll work together to make the name of our *Takachiho* glorious. Explain the situation to your mother and set her mind at rest."

The sailor stood with bowed head, listening, then slowly raised his arm in salute, and walked away, smiling happily.

From Nakano Akira, *Moral Education in Modern Japan*. Tōkyō: International Society for Educational Information, Inc., 1989, pp. 27–28.

Questions

1. Why was the sailor crying?
2. What did the admiral mean when he said, "What a woman your mother is!"?
3. What was the main point of "The Sailor's Mother"?
4. In your opinion, why did the Ministry of Education require all schools to use the same textbooks?



十六 兵タイゴッコ

勇サンハ、オモチャノ テッパウヲ 持ッテ、
ボクハ ホ兵 ダヨ
トイヒマシタ
正男サンハ、竹馬ニ ノッテ、
ボクハ キ兵 ダヨ
トイヒマシタ
太郎サンハ、竹ノ ツツヲ 持ッテ、

「ボクハ カウクウ兵 ダヨ」
トイヒマシタ
花子サンノ 弟ノ 一郎サンハ、オモチャノ ジドウシャヲ 持ッテ、
「ボクハ シチョウ兵 ダヨ」
トイヒマシタ。
花子サント ユリ子サンハ、
「私タチハ カンゴフニ ナリマセウ」

These language lessons from an elementary school textbook encouraged children to serve their nation. The lesson is a song "Forward, Forward, Mr. Soldier." Courtesy of the Tōkyō Shoseki Library/Tosho Bunko, Tōkyō.

Isamu carried a toy rifle,
and said, "I am a soldier."
Masao walked on stilts,
and said, "I am a cavalryman."
Taro held a wooden stick,
and said, "I am an air corpsman."
Hanako and Yuike said,
"Let's be nurses."
Hanako's younger brother Ichirō held a toy truck,
and said, "I am a transport corpsman."

Activity: Concluding Essay

Write a 300–500 word concluding essay for Section 2. In your essay talk about the problems that Japan faced between 1925 and 1937. Consider the importance of economic conditions, social discord, militarism, international isolation, and ultranationalism.

Extension Activities

1. Write a book report on the novel *Lost Names: Scenes from a Korean Boyhood*, by Richard Kim (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970; reprint 1998). This book is a highly readable account of a teenage Korean boy growing up during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Told from the boy's point of view, the book gives an insider's look at the often harsh Japanese colonial policies Koreans were forced to endure.
2. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* defines *ultranationalism* as "great or excessive devotion to or advocacy of national interests and rights especially as opposed to international considerations." Look in recent newspapers and news magazines for examples of ultranationalism in the world today. For example, you may use remarks by radical nationalist leaders, mass movements, or government policies. Explain how your examples fit the definition of ultranationalism.
3. In a sense the *Kokutai no Hongi* defined what "being Japanese" meant to the militarists who came to power in prewar Japan and ruled until 1945. The main tenets of this book—such as Japan's divine origins, devotion to the emperor, and the uniqueness and superiority of Japanese culture—were taught in all schools throughout the Japanese empire. The militarist leaders wanted all Japanese subjects to hold the same beliefs about their nation, their emperor, and their patriotic duty.

   Is there an American version of *kokutai*? Do you think Americans generally agree on what the United States is or what it means to be American?

   For this activity interview at least ten people. Make a short list of questions to ask them about their ideas on what the United States is and what it means to be American. You might want to ask the people you interview what they know about the origins of the United States, what they think about the office of the presidency, and what they think their patriotic duty as Americans is. Try to interview a wide variety of people.

   Report your findings to the class and lead a discussion on whether governments should advocate national patriotic beliefs. Incorporate the prewar Japanese government's use of *kokutai* in your discussion.
4. Research the life and beliefs of Kita Ikki, one of Japan's most controversial and influential radical nationalist thinkers during the early Shōwa period. Write a summary of his ultranationalist ideology. You may want to look at *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883–1937*, by George M. Wilson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969) for details of Kita Ikka's proposals for reorganizing Japan.
5. Write a report on the novel *Runaway Horses*, by Mishima Yukio (New York, NY: Knopf, 1973), one of Japan's most acclaimed authors. This novel, set in the early Shōwa period, centers on characters caught up in the often conflicting forces of modernization, traditionalism, and nationalism.

Further Reading

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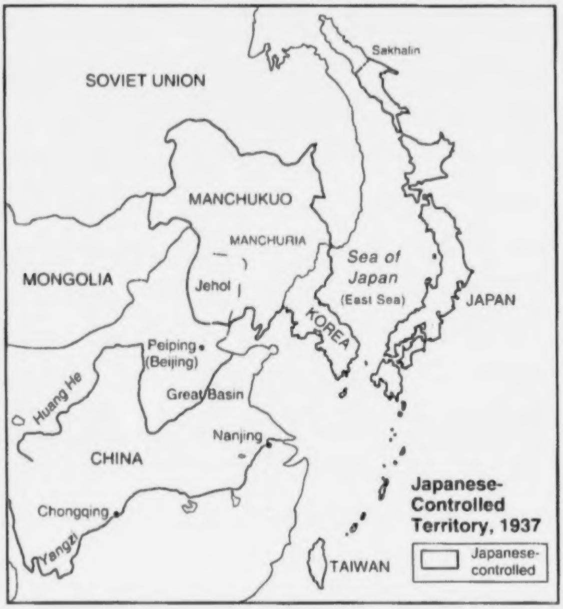
Section 3 Japan in World War II, 1937–1945

The global conflict we call World War II was in fact "many wars, occurring at different levels and in widely separated places." It "meant many things to many people. To over fifty million men, women, and children, it meant death. To hundreds of millions more in the occupied areas and theaters of combat, the war meant hell on earth: suffering and grief, often with little awareness of a cause or reason beyond the terrifying events of the moment."[1]

This section discusses Japan's involvement in the war in Asia and the Pacific, from the outbreak of fighting in China to final surrender. Within this larger context, the section explores what the war meant to various segments of the population.



War Erupts

Japan and China at War

For Americans, World War II began in 1941 with the explosive Japanese attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor. But for the Japanese the war began much earlier—in 1937. And it did not begin with an intentional attack. It started with an accidental skirmish.

On the night of July 7, 1937, Japanese troops, sent to China to protect Japanese interests, were conducting night maneuvers at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peiping (also called Beiping, Peking, and Beijing). Fighting broke out when the troops ran into a small garrison of Chinese soldiers. The fighting ended four days later, when local commanders on both sides, hoping to prevent a wider conflict, arranged a cease-fire. Unfortunately, the cease-fire did not last because neither side was willing to let the matter rest.

During most of its long history China had been the dominant power in Asia, but beginning in the mid-1800s China grew weak and fell prey to the industrialized countries of Europe and Japan. Anti-foreign sentiment, always strong in China, mounted in the early 1900s, sparking a countrywide movement in the 1920s and 1930s to free China from foreign control. Thus when Chinese and Japanese troops clashed, the Guomindang government refused to back down.

Nor did the Japanese back down. They believed that Japan had every right to extend its control in North China and that control over China was crucial to Japan's survival as a powerful empire. Furthermore, during the 1930s the Japanese government had grown militaristic. Assassinations, coup attempts, and political turmoil had thwarted the moderates' efforts to maintain control in Tōkyō. By 1937, leaders in Tōkyō agreed that

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[1] John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1986, pp. 3–4).

Chinese Survivors Tell Their Stories

During the bloody war between China and Japan that lasted from 1937 to 1945, the Chinese people endured indescribable pain and suffering, and millions died. In Nanjing, anticipating the approach of Japanese troops, the German businessman John Rabe risked his life to lead an effort by the few remaining foreign residents to establish an International Safety Zone. Although the Zone did not provide absolute protection—Japanese soldiers removed a number of Chinese from the Zone—it is estimated that it saved over 200,000 people. In the excerpts below, three who were outside the Zone when the Japanese entered Nanjing recount their harrowing experiences.

Liu Yong-xing (male)

I was born in 1913. In the afternoon of 14 December 1937, my brother and I were seized by Japanese soldiers and were driven to the wharves. The soldiers guarding us carried more than thirty machine-guns on horseback. We saw bodies of men and women lying along the road.

Arriving at the wharf on the Yangtze River, we found that several thousand people had been captured and brought here. I realized we were facing a possible massacre. It was dark now and the [Japanese] started shooting with machine-guns, causing many people to jump into the river. My brother and I also jumped. The Japanese, while continuing to shoot, threw grenades into the water. Those who jumped either were blown up or wounded. The explosions were mingled with screams and howls. After the turmoil, I lost contact with my brother. I never saw him again. Then I was carried back to shore by the waves. I lay among dead bodies and didn't dare to move. The machine-guns were deafening, and I am hearing impaired to this day.

Bodies of Nanking residents lying on the banks of the Yangtze river. From The Rape of Nanking: *An Undeniable History in Photographs, by James Yin and Shi Young. Chicago, IL: Innovative Publishing Group, 1996, p. 95.*

After the shooting, trying to cover up the massacre, the Japanese poured gasoline onto the corpses and set fire to them. During the night, Japanese soldiers on guard would bayonet bodies drifting by. Being a little beyond reach of the bayonets, I was lucky to be alive.

Ma Xiu-yi (female)

When the Japanese entered the city from Zhong Shan Gate, they killed and looted and burned houses. Six people from my Grandma's family were killed by the Japanese troops. My cousin, seven months pregnant, was raped to death by seven or eight soldiers.

They cut an ear off my grandfather and bayoneted my grandmother's chest. Another cousin, only 14 years old, was dragged by soldiers to somewhere to get raped. She resisted and was bayoneted in her lower abdomen and finally died.

I was only 11 then and dressed like a boy. I was slapped by Japanese soldiers more than seventy times. My face was all swollen and blood dripped all over. I did not heal till two months later. There is no language to adequately describe the Japanese crimes.

Ma Zhongshan (male)
The Japanese army began the inhuman massacre as soon as they got into the city. On December 14, my father Ma Chun-ming, Uncle Ma Ming-qing, and my Third Brother, Ma Zhong-hua, were home when the Japanese came. All of a sudden, the woman who owned the toufu shop next door ran into our house nervously. She said several Japanese soldiers tried to rape her. My father then helped her to escape through [the] back door.

No sooner had the woman left than a group of Japanese soldiers rushed in and searched all over for her. After determining that my father [had] let the woman go, they decided to kill my father, my uncle, and my brother. They bayoneted these three defenseless and innocent people to death, then set the house afire. As a result, my home and a dozen neighboring houses were all burned down.

From James Yin and Shi Young, *The Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs*. Chicago, IL: Innovative Publishing Group, 1996, pp. 93, 209, 211.

Japan had the right to control North China. The anti-foreign rhetoric coming from Nanking (Nanjing) threatened these men, who saw the Marco Polo Bridge incident as an opportunity to halt Chinese nationalism.

So despite the cease-fire, both the Guomindang government in Nanking and the Japanese government in Tōkyō ordered more troops into North China. These actions angered both governments, who blamed each other for escalating the conflict. On July 25 fighting again broke out. This time it could not be contained. By summer's end Japan and China were fighting an undeclared war.

Japan aimed to solidify its control over North China. The Japanese believed that they could defeat the Chinese in North China and seize control of the capital of Nanking if they could force the Guomindang and the Chinese Communists, who in 1936 had formed a united front against Japan, to lay down their arms and accept Japanese domination in North China. They miscalculated. Instead, their attack on Nanking hardened China's opposition to Japan.

One reason for this opposition was the brutality of the Japanese soldiers. Because Nanking had been the center of anti-Japanese sentiment in China, the Japanese commanders let their troops know that they aimed not just to capture the city, but to punish it as well. Thus when Japanese troops invaded the city, discipline broke down. Japanese soldiers went on a rampage, indiscriminately raping Chinese women and beating, torturing, and killing Chinese men, women, and children. Although estimates vary, figures from the Tōkyō War Crimes Trial after the war suggest that Japanese soldiers executed more than 200,000 civilians and prisoners of war in the first six weeks after the assault on Nanking. The Nanking Massacre, as this attack has been called, is one of the darkest moments of Japan's modern history.

In the wake of this brutal invasion, the Chinese dug in their heels. Forced to give up Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek[2] moved deep into the interior of China and declared Chongqing the new capital. Here he vowed to drive the Japanese from China.

Because the assault on Nanking failed to bring the swift victory the Japanese had expected, they decided to launch all-out war. Japanese troops poured into China, taking control of metropolitan and industrial areas on the coast. The Japanese hoped that this move would force China to surrender. It failed. The Chinese, strengthened by nationalism and the conviction that their cause was just, resolved to expel the invaders. The fears of the more cautious Japanese commanders came true, and the war dragged on.

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[2] Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) was the Guomindong leader during the years between World Wars I and II and during World War II.

The United States Becomes Enmeshed

At first the United States was reluctant to go to war against Japan. True, American leaders deplored Japan's attack on China. Since the turn of the twentieth century, the United States had committed itself, along with other great powers, to the Open Door Policy, based on open and free trade with China and protection of China's territorial integrity. Japan's attack clearly violated these

Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

Since the Meiji period, long before the outbreak of World War II, many Japanese believed that Asia's future would depend on Asians' ability to unite and work together to defend themselves from Western imperialism. Although this idea of a united Asia governed by and for Asians lost much of its appeal as Japan rapidly modernized, outstripped its Asian neighbors, and began to pursue an imperialist policy itself, the idea never completely disappeared.

In 1938, as Japan struggled to take control over China, the idea reemerged in a different form. Hoping to convince the Guomindang to lay down their arms, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro announced Japan's intentions of setting up a new order in East Asia. According to the Japanese, the new order would be based on the principle of Asia for Asians. Perhaps the Japanese sincerely believed that this new order would benefit all nations involved, but in reality it meant Japanese political and economic domination of China, Korea, and Manchukuo.

In August 1940, Japan's foreign minister, Matsuoka Yosuke, expanded the idea of the new order in East Asia to include much of Southeast Asia. Matsuoka spoke of the creation of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The stated Japanese goal was to lead the people of East and Southeast Asia in setting up a self-sufficient regional economy free from the domination and destructive influence of Western imperialism. In theory, all the countries of the region would be treated as partners, and the Co-Prosperity Sphere would benefit everyone involved. In reality, Japan treated the other countries as colonies, not partners; the Co-Prosperity Sphere was really a Japanese empire.

After its stunning victories in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, the Japanese military administered total control over most of the region in order to use its resources for Japan's war effort. For this reason, the colonies did not get the full experience of self-government that Japanese propaganda implied. Later, as the Japanese saw that they were losing the war, they gave local leaders greater self-government and supplied them with military training so that they could defend themselves against the return of European colonial power. Although the reason for doing this was to hamper the West rather than to help the Southeast Asians, the result was the same. When Europeans attempted to reassume control after the war, they faced well-armed local forces very determined to gain their independence. This local resistance helped keep most European nations from reasserting control.

principles. But still American leaders kept to a hands-off policy. China mattered little to U.S. national security, and Americans had no stomach for sending their young men to fight in a faraway land. So the United States, like most of the great powers, criticized Japanese aggression but did nothing. Given free rein, the Japanese grew more and more aggressive.

Meanwhile, events in Europe were intensifying tensions between Japan and the United States. In 1939 Europe became engulfed in war as Germany's Nazi[3] dictator, Adolf Hitler, led an attack against France and England. At first Hitler scored huge victories, forcing France to surrender and nearly bringing England to its knees. The U.S. president, Franklin Roosevelt, understood the urgency of defending England. Knowing that the United States could not forever remain neutral, he began to prepare the country militarily and psychologically for engagement in combating German expansion.

The Nazi victories also impinged powerfully on Japan. Militarists in Japan had admired the Nazis, and German victories convinced the Japanese that they should form an alliance with the Axis powers, Germany and Italy. In September 1940 Japan, Germany, and Italy signed a military, economic, and political agreement called the Tripartite Pact, in which they agreed to cooperate in establishing a "new order" in Europe and in East Asia, and to help each other if one of them were attacked by a nation not yet involved in war.

Germany's invasion of France emboldened Japan to seize France's colonies in Indochina, the Southeast Asian peninsula that borders China to the south. The Guomindang army was getting supplies from Southeast Asia via routes it had built. The Japanese needed to cut off these supply routes and gain access to these resources themselves. In July 1941 the Japanese military invaded southern Indochina. In reaction, the United States, then Great Britain and the Netherlands, announced an embargo on all exports to Japan and froze Japanese assets within their borders.

The American embargo was a response to the situation in Europe. In fact, some scholars argue that once Japan signed the Tripartite Pact, the U.S. government interpreted every Japanese action in light of its impact on the war in Europe. Certainly Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia—the location of the colonies of France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands—was a threat to the Allies. And the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) was rich in oil, a strategic resource.

The embargo took Japan by surprise. Furthermore, Japan felt frustrated because it had few natural resources. Its war effort depended completely on foreign oil, 80 percent of which had come from the United States. Japan's military planners were desperate. The general staff of Japan's navy told the government that the only way Japan could survive as a world power was to invade the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and take over its oil fields. Because this action was certain to provoke an American counterattack, the Japanese military believed that Japan had to attack America first so as to gain a strategic advantage.

Many of Japan's political leaders believed that war with America would mean defeat for Japan. But they also knew that Japan needed oil. They decided to negotiate with the United States to end the embargo but agreed that if they failed to reach an agreement by October 1941, they would prepare for an attack on the United States.

Japan's diplomats bargained hard to reach an accord with America. They promised to withdraw their troops from southern Indochina, whose invasion had provoked the American embargo. President Roosevelt was interested, but Cordell Hull, his secretary of state, took a hard line. He believed that Japan would never dare attack America, so he demanded total withdrawal of Japanese troops from both Indochina and China. The Japanese refused.

Questions

1. What started the undeclared war between Japan and China?
2. How did tension between Japan and the United States mount?
3. Why did Japan decide to attack the United States?

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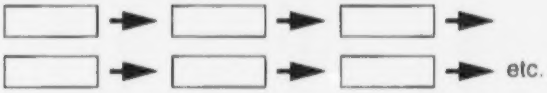
[3] Nazis were members of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, led by Adolf Hitler. The party advocated state control of economic and political life, racism, and national expansion.

Activity: Flowchart

Either on your own or with a partner, make a flowchart that shows the progression of events from 1937 to 1941. To help you do this, reread the essay "War Erupts." Your flowchart of ten to fifteen boxes should look something like the following. What you write in each box may differ from what others write in their boxes.



Japan Attacks Pearl Harbor and Southeast Asia

Japan's leaders knew that attacking the United States was fraught with danger, but they believed that yielding to American demands would end Japan's supremacy in Asia. So from October to December the Japanese readied for their attack. The government appointed the aging Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku to draw up the plans. Yamamoto decided on a lightning strike on American bases in Hawai'i and the Philippines, to be followed by an all-out invasion of the Philippines and other parts of Southeast Asia. He reasoned that by knocking out the U.S. Pacific Fleet in Hawai'i and then destroying U.S. planes in the Philippines, Japan could easily capture the colonies in Asia that belonged to Western powers.

Tactically, Yamamoto's plan succeeded brilliantly. On the morning of Sunday, December 7, 1941 (December 8 in Japan), Japanese planes stunned the American navy at Pearl Harbor. Attacking in two waves, Japanese dive bombers, torpedo planes, and fighter planes destroyed most of America's battleships. Yamamoto's plan might have been even more devastating if Admiral Nagumo Chūichi, the man assigned to carry out the invasion, had followed it to the letter. The plan had called for three attack waves. The third could have taken out the remaining battleships and demolished the harbor's fuel tanks and repair facilities, ensuring that the United States would take years to recover. But because the first two waves had inflicted so much damage on the American base with few Japanese losses, Nagumo decided against sending off the third wave. Fortunately for the Allies, American aircraft carriers were at sea on maneuvers when the Japanese attacked. The U.S. navy and civilian workers were able to bring the harbor's repair facilities back to working order in an astonishingly short time—an achievement that would come back to haunt the Japanese navy.

KEMENANGAN NIPPON JANG
GILANG GOEMILANG

Indonesians in the city of Batavia (now Jakarta) gaze at a map on a street corner. Japanese flags on the map indicate locations occupied by Japan. Courtesy of National Diet Library, Tōkyō.

But this is getting ahead of the story. Before the Americans were able to respond effectively, the Japanese racked up more victories. On the same day as the Pearl Harbor attack, the Japanese attacked the Philippines. There the American general, Douglas MacArthur, made a costly mistake. Warned to prepare for a Japanese attack, he ordered bombers and fighter planes to the air from Clark Field near Manila to engage the approaching Japanese. But when noon arrived and no Japanese planes appeared, MacArthur ordered his pilots to land their planes and break for lunch. Soon after, in the middle of lunch, the Japanese planes swooped in and destroyed the U.S. planes parked like sitting ducks on the airstrip.

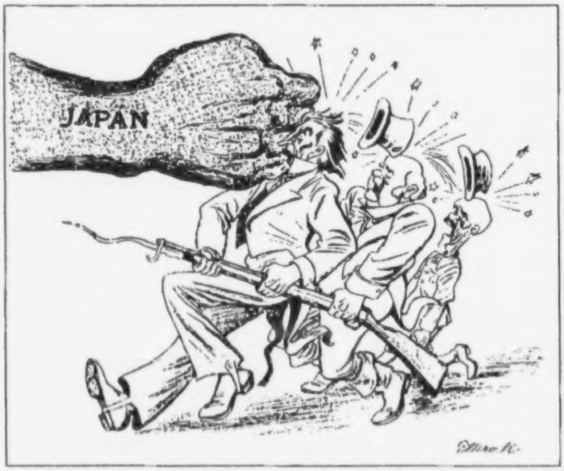
The Japanese drove the U.S. troops from the Philippines and within six months occupied Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, and a host of other European colonies. The Japanese lightning strike in the Pacific was a brilliant tactical victory. They had severely crippled America's ability to counterattack and had seized the resource-rich regions of Southeast Asia. They now had bases on land and sea from which to build a powerful empire.

But the Pacific offensive was also an enormous strategic blunder. The Japanese had assumed that such an awesome initial show of force would intimidate the isolationist Americans. Earlier during the war in Europe and in China, Americans had clung stubbornly to the hope for peace. The Japanese mistakenly believed that Americans were too pampered and comfortable to wage a long and violent war. Japanese leaders thought that America's democratic tradition would undercut any effort by the nation's leaders to keep America in a war that its people opposed. Japan's leaders had expected that the United States would quickly accept Japan's new empire in exchange for an end to hostilities. They could not have been more wrong.

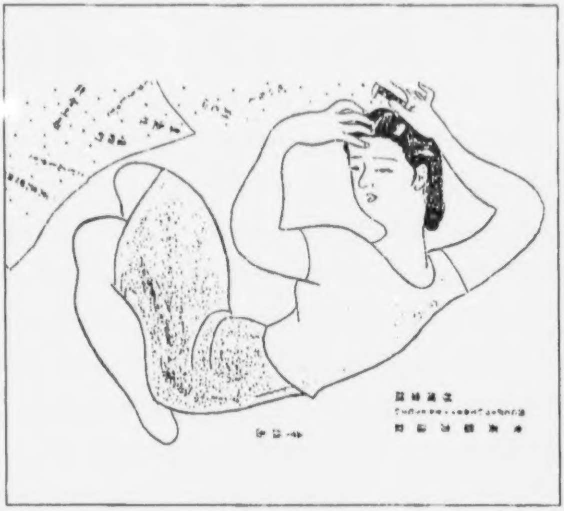
The attack on Pearl Harbor so infuriated Americans that it unified the people in a passion to punish the Japanese. The will to mobilize for war gained an intensity that the Japanese had not predicted. Instead of intimidating America, the attack abetted Roosevelt's efforts to muster the entire industry, economy, and population of the United States for the war effort. It was this ability to mobilize all of America's vast resources that, more than anything else, led to Japan's eventual defeat by the Americans.

Activity: Cartoon Titles

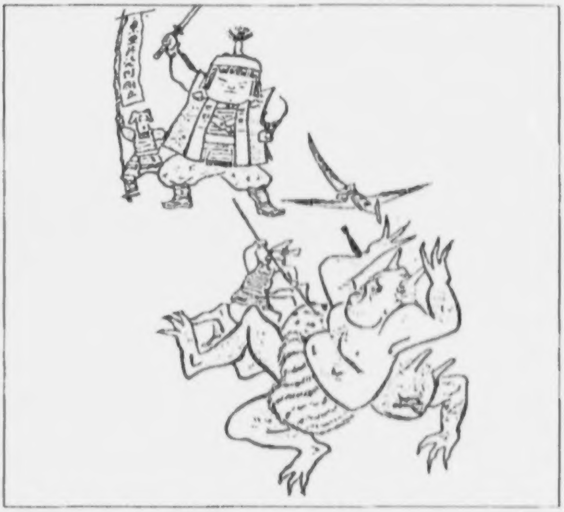
With a partner, examine Cartoons A, B, and C. Whom do the people in the cartoon represent? What is happening in the cartoon? What is the cartoonist conveying to the reader? Then on your own or with your partner, write an appropriate caption for each cartoon.



Cartoon A. The Japan Times and Advertiser *was written in English for an international audience. The men are, from left to right, Uncle Sam, representing the United States, followed by John Bull, representing Great Britain, and Chinese leader Chiang Kai-Shek. Courtesy of* The Japan Times, *Tōkyō.*



Cartoon B. Manga *was a government-sponsored humor magazine. The characters falling from the woman's head are translated as extravagance, selfishness, hedonism, liberalism, materialism, money worship, individualism, and Anglo–American ideas. The characters on the right say, "Purging One's Head of Anglo–Americanism," and "Get rid of that dandruff encrusting your head!" By Sugiura Yukio. Courtesy of Jun Sugiura, Tōkyō.*



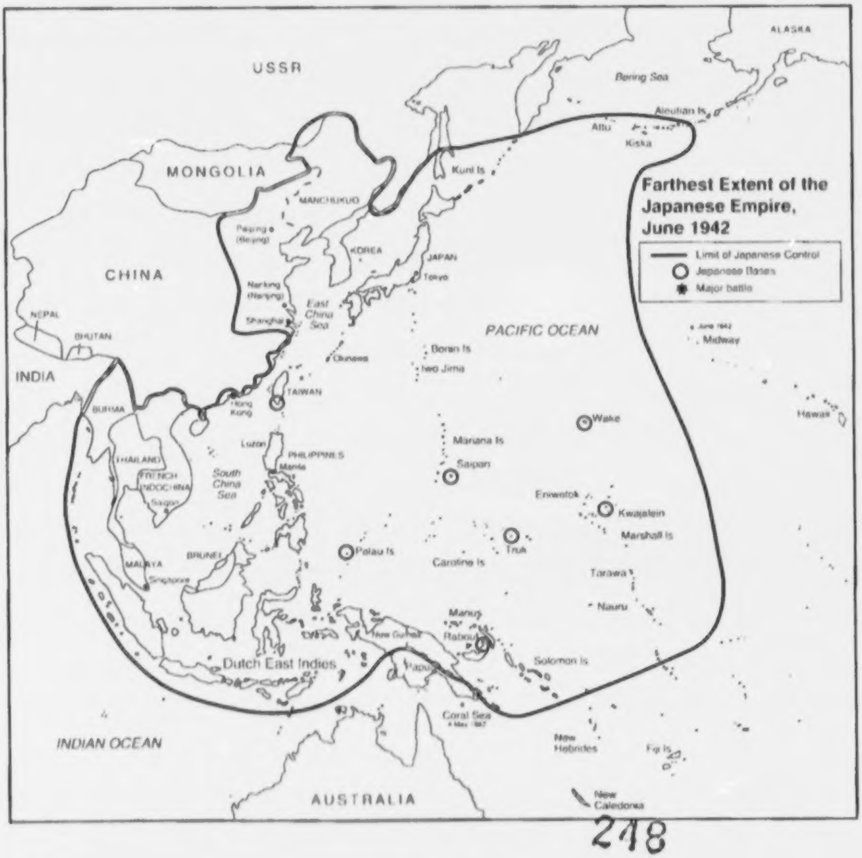
Cartoon C. *The boy on the top left is Momotarō, the "Peach Boy," who is the hero of a Japanese folktale. With the help of a dog, a monkey, and a pheasant (see if you can identify them), Momotarō vanquishes demons of a distant land. The characters on Momotarō's lapel are translated as "first in the world." The characters on the banner say, "Establish the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." By Sugiura Yukio. Courtesy of Jun Sugiura, Tokyō.*

Some Major Battles, 1942–45

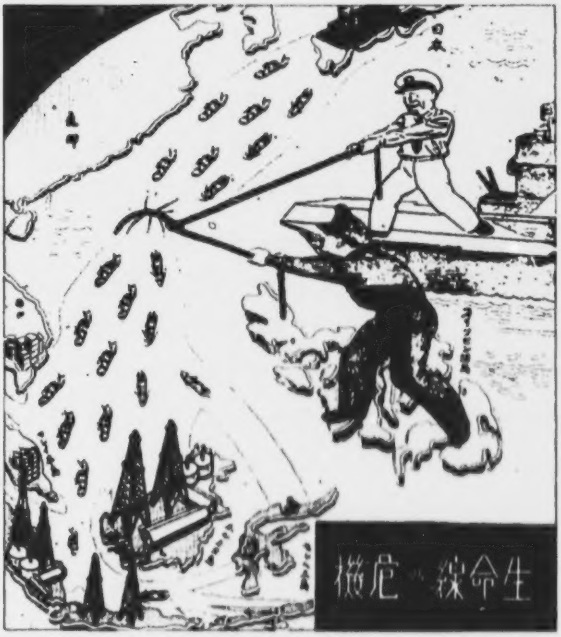
By mid-1942 Japan had expanded its empire far into Asia and the Pacific. In the months that followed, the Allies slowly pushed the Japanese forces back. Countless battles ensued; a few important ones are listed here.

Date and Place	Summary
1942 May, Coral Sea	Because U.S. intelligence had broken the Japanese code, the Americans knew of Japan's plans to expand south to New Guinea and Australia. Fought entirely by aircraft launched from carriers, the battle of the Coral Sea in the southwest Pacific halted the Japanese push to the south.
1942 June, Midway	First important military defeat for Japan, and turning point in the war in the Pacific. Having broken the Japanese code, the United States knew of Japan's plans for a surprise attack to take the U.S.-held island of Midway in the North Pacific. In a battle costly for both sides, Japan lost four aircraft carriers, and with that loss went its naval superiority in the Pacific.
1944 June–August, Marianas Islands	Allied victories in the Marianas, including the islands of Saipan, Guam, and Tinian, enabled the U.S. B-29s to use these islands as bases for bombing raids on Japan. (The planes that dropped the atom bombs in 1945, first on Hiroshima and then on Nagasaki, flew from Tinian.)
1945 April–June, Okinawa	Located just south of Kyūshū, Okinawa was the final step for a possible Allied invasion of Japan's main islands. Okinawa suffered the largest battle in the Pacific war and the most casualties. The American victory, which came after much bloodshed, cut off Japanese forces farther south from their homeland. (Instead of invading Japan, the U.S. president, Harry Truman, decided to use the atom bomb.)

U.S. Marines invading Saipan, Marianas Islands, June 1944. Courtesy of the National Archives (80-G-234712), Washington, D.C.


Farthest Extent of the Japanese Empire, June 1942
Limit of Japanese Control
Japanese Bases
Major battle
USSR
ALASKA
Bering Sea
Aleutian Is
Attu
Kiska
MONGOLIA
MANCHUKUO
Kuril Is
Peiping (Beijing)
KOREA
JAPAN
Tokyo
CHINA
Nanking (Nanjing)
East China Sea
Shanghai
NEPAL
BHUTAN
INDIA
Okinawa
PACIFIC OCEAN
June 1942
Midway
Bonin Is
Iwo Jima
TAIWAN
Hong Kong
BURMA
Hawaii
Wake
Mariana Is
Luzon
PHILIPPINES
Manila
THAILAND
FRENCH INDOCHINA
Saigon
South China Sea
Saipan
Eniwetok
Kwajalein
Marshall Is
Palau Is
Truk
Caroline Is
MALAYA
BRUNEI
Singapore
Tarawa
Nauru
Manus
New Guinea
Rabaul
Dutch East Indies
Papua
Solomon Is
Coral Sea
4 May 1942
INDIAN OCEAN
New Hebrides
Fiji Is
AUSTRALIA
New Caledonia

Adapted from Cultural Atlas of Japan *by Martin Collcutt, Maricus Jansen and Isao Kumakura. New York:* Facts on File, *1988, p. 204.*



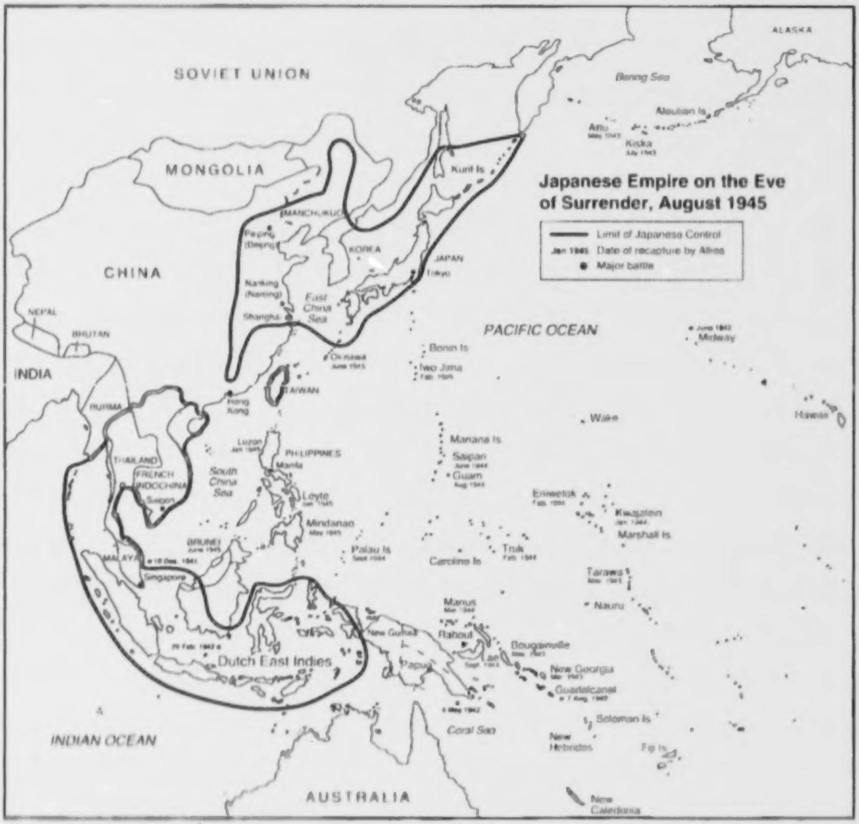
(top) A handbill made soon after the United States took control of the Philippines. General MacArthur is standing on what group of islands? What islands are to his left? How did the American thrust into the Pacific affect Japan? Courtesy of National Diet Library, Tōkyō.

Questions

1. Compare the maps "Farthest Extent of the Japanese Empire, June 1942" and "Japanese Empire on the Eve of Surrender, August 1945." Then write a statement that tells what happened to Japanese territorial control between 1942 and 1945.
2. List six places that Japan captured after its attack on Pearl Harbor. See the essay "Japan Attacks Pearl Harbor and Southeast Asia."
3. Why did the Allies battle to take control over particular Pacific islands? To help answer this question, examine the two maps. In addition, reread "War Erupts."

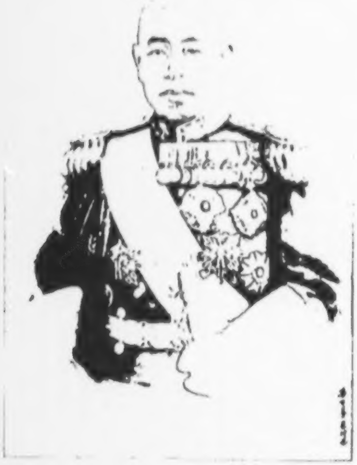
Activity: Taking Roles

In the readings that follow, people recall their experiences during the war. To supplement these


Japanese Empire on the Eve of Surrender, August 1945
Limit of Japanese Control
Jan 1945 Date of recapture by Allies
Major battle
SOVIET UNION
MONGOLIA
CHINA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
INDIA
BURMA
MANCHUKUO
Peping (Beijing)
KOREA
JAPAN
Tokyo
Nanking (Nanjing)
Shanghai
East China Sea
ALASKA
Bering Sea
Aleutian Is
Attu May 1943
Kiska July 1943
Kuril Is
PACIFIC OCEAN
June 1942 Midway
Hawaii
Okinawa June 1945
Bonin Is
Iwo Jima Feb. 1945
TAIWAN
Hong Kong
Wake
Mariana Is
Saipan June 1944
Guam Aug 1944
Luzon Jan 1945
PHILIPPINES
Manila
South China Sea
Leyte
THAILAND
FRENCH INDOCHINA
Saigon
Mindanao May 1945
BRUNEI June 1945
MALAYA
10 Dec. 1941
Singapore
Palau Is Sept 1944
Caroline Is
Truk Feb. 1944
Eniwetok Feb. 1944
Kwajalein Jan 1944
Marshall Is
Tarawa Nov. 1943
Nauru
Manus Mar 1944
Rabaul
New Guinea
Papua
Lae Sept 1943
Bougainville
New Georgia
Guadalcanal 7 Aug. 1942
20 Feb. 1942
Dutch East Indies
4 May 1942
Coral Sea
Solomon Is
New Hebrides
Fiji Is
New Caledonia
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA

Soon after the war ended, Japan relinquished Korea and all other territories it had gained during the war. Adapted from Cultural Atlas of Japan *by Martin Collcutt, Marius Jansen, and Isao Kumakura. New York:* Facts on File, *1988, p. 204.*

Prime Minister and General Tōjō Hideki confers with members of the Diet, January, 1944. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.



Portrait in 1943 of Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, Commander in Chief of the Imperial Navy. Courtesy of the National Archives (80-JO-79462), Washington, D.C.

readings, you may want to find two books. One is *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*, edited by Frank Gibney (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995); the other is *Japan at War: An Oral History*, by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook (New York, NY: The New Press, 1992), especially pages 129–33, 192–99, 268–76, 343–49, and 384–87.

Your teacher will assign you one set of readings: "Serving the Nation in Battle" or "At the Homefront." After reading your assigned set, complete each numbered step in this activity before going on to the next one. You may need to reread the selections before writing your responses to the questions. Half of the class will need atlases or maps of Asia. The other half will need drawing compasses and maps of their community.

1. For those assigned "Serving the Nation in Battle," answer these questions on your own:

    a. How would you sum up each of the servicemen's stories? Respond to this question by creating a title for each story.
    b. Do you know the locations of places mentioned in the stories? Using an atlas or a map, locate China, Burma, New Guinea, Shandong Province, and Indonesia (Dutch East Indies).
    c. Read "The Way of the Warrior" in Chapter 1, Section 1. How was the ideal serviceman in World War II like the ideal samurai?
    d. Recall what happened in 1937 at Nanjing. After reading the servicemen's stories and the essay that introduces them, how would you explain the massacre?

2. For those assigned "At the Homefront," answer these questions on your own:

    a. How would you sum up each of the civilians' stories? Respond to this question by creating a title for each story.
    b. How did civilians join in the war effort?
    c. Imagine the impact of the atom bomb on your own community. Using a map of your local area, choose several places as the hypocenter. For each imagined hypocenter, draw a circle (you may want to use a drawing compass) having a radius of 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) and another with a radius of 3.5 kilometers (2 miles). What buildings are located within the two circles? What people live and work there? In an atom bomb blast like the ones at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, what would happen to those within the circles? (Note that today's bombs are infinitely more powerful than the two detonated in 1945; people as far as 48 kilometers (30 miles) away would be injured by a blast today.)[4]

3. Your teacher will form groups of three or four with students assigned the same set of readings. Take turns sharing your responses to the questions. As you listen to others in your group, you may revise your responses.
4. Depending on your set of readings, take the role of a civilian or an ex-serviceman recalling the war many decades later. To help you create your role, write your responses to the following:

    a. whether you are male or female
    b. your age during the war
    c. where you lived or fought during the war
    d. whether your parents were alive during the war
    e. whether you had brothers and sisters, and if so, how many of each
    f. your general attitude toward the war

5. Your teacher will divide the class into pairs consisting of an ex-serviceman and a civilian. Sit facing your partner and introduce yourself according to your responses to item 4 above.
6. After your teacher reads a prompt, a statement to start a conversation, one of you should respond in character. The other will listen and then respond. In responding, discuss the experiences and views of others in your category (servicemen or civilians), along with your own, making clear which are your views and which are others' views. Converse back and forth with your partner for two to five minutes until your teacher reads the next prompt. Take turns being the first to respond after a prompt. After you and your partner have responded to all prompts, each partner will make a final closing comment.

Prompt A.	Everyone was expected to give heart and soul to the war effort. Our goal was total victory!
Prompt B.	Opposing views were unacceptable. Few dared express them.
Prompt C.	We sacrificed ourselves for Japan.
Prompt D.	The war brought untold suffering to countless people.

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[4] The idea of imagining the impact of the atomic bomb on one's community comes from a lesson by Elaine Hood, "How Powerful Is a Nuclear Bomb?" pp. 119–28, in *Tora no Maki III: Lessons for Teaching about Contemporary Japan* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1998).

7. Now that you know something about the experiences of both servicemen and civilians, write a long letter to an imaginary friend unfamiliar with experiences of the Japanese during the war. Use prompts A–D as guides in writing your letter. You may want to read the other set of remembrances (servicemen or civilians) and reread your assigned set before composing your letter. End your letter with some closing thoughts on the war.

Serving the Nation in Battle

Those who served on the battlefront were ordinary men; before the war they had been farmers, factory workers, and tradesmen. Once drafted into service, these men experienced lives unlike anything they had known before.

Commanders sought to mold them into soldiers who obeyed their superiors without question and who fought for total victory in the name of the emperor. Recruits learned that those who objected or deserted faced severe punishment and even execution.

The men knew that they were to fight to the end, even with no hope of winning. To be captured alive—to surrender—was out of the question. This was *Yamato Damashii*,[5] the Spirit of Japan.

In Nanking (Nanjing) and other places, Japanese troops committed terrible atrocities. Why?

Some scholars explain it this way. Most servicemen had grown up in rural areas amid poverty and suffering, where toughness was valued. Their military training—rigid, brutal, and violent—reinforced this idea of toughness and left the soldiers with anger waiting to boil over. Then there was the belief that those lower on the social scale had a duty to obey. When the Chinese, whom the Japanese considered inferior, refused to surrender to Japan, commanders conveyed the idea that China deserved punishment. In places like Nanking, when military discipline broke down, the soldiers' reservoir of rage took over, and they attacked innocent civilians brutally.

In the decades following the war, few ex-servicemen were willing to discuss their actions in battle and their feelings of guilt over atrocities they had committed. It took half a century for them to work up the courage to speak out.

Serviceman A

He entered the naval academy in late 1944. The war ended before he could graduate. "I was there only ten months, but the impression it made on me was very powerful. Were I young and able to live my life over again, I would still want to go. That kind of education—rigid discipline—is no longer available anywhere in the world. Everything was in order. You acted flat-out, with all your power, every day for one goal. I was full of ardor to abandon my life for the sake of the nation."

Today, he is the Head Priest at Daijōji temple of the Sōdōshū sect of Zen Buddhism, located on the outskirts of Kanazawa City. He wears the full paraphernalia of this office. A heavy rain beats down on the roofs of the enormous temple. Despite the summer season, the dampness is carried in on a chill breeze from the moss gardens below.

I was in the second year of middle school that day, Pearl Harbor Day. "Well, we really did it!" I thought. The sound of the announcement on the radio still reverberates in my ears. [*He hums a few bars from "The Battleship March," the unofficial navy anthem played on the radio to set the tone for victory announcements.*] "News special, news special," high pitched and rapid. "Beginning this morning before dawn, war has been joined with the Americans and British." I felt as if my blood boiled and my flesh quivered. The whole nation bubbled over, excited and inspired. "We really did it! Incredible! Wonderful!" That's the way it felt then.

I was brought up in a time when nobody criticized Japan. The war started for me, in the brain of this middle-school student, as something that should happen, something that was natural. Every day, we sent warriors off with cheers of *"Banzai! Banzai!"* War was going on in China. "Withdraw your forces," America ordered Japan. If a prime minister with foresight had ordered a withdrawal, he probably would have been assassinated. Even I knew that withdrawal was impossible! There was the ABCD encirclement—the Americans, British,

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[5] *Yamato damashii*, the spirit of Yamato (Japan), was thought to underlie the courage and dedication of the Japanese. This concept was a key element in military training.

Chinese, and Dutch. They wouldn't give us a drop of oil.

The Japanese had to take a chance. That was the psychological situation in which we found ourselves. If you bully a person, you should give him room to flee. There is a Japanese proverb that says, "A cornered mouse will bite a cat." America is evil, Britain is wrong, we thought. We didn't know why they were encircling us. In Japan, nobody was calculating whether we would win or not. We simply hit out. Our blood was hot! We fought. Until the very end, no one considered the possibility that Japan could lose. We were like Sergeant Yokoi and Lieutenant Onoda—the men who emerged from the jungles, one in Guam, the other in the Philippines, in the 1970s—who couldn't imagine Japan had been defeated. That's the way the whole country felt. Today's youth can't conceive of such feelings.

I was at the First Middle School in Sendai, the best school in Miyagi prefecture. I never really thought about becoming a military man. I was thinking about being a doctor. But the whole nation was at war, everyone was for the war. You don't feel that you want to preserve your own life in such an atmosphere. I guess I was simpleminded, but I thought if you have to go into the military anyway, better to go someplace good. I didn't think I'd make it, but the naval academy was smart, attractive. I took the entrance exams in my fifth year of middle school. Until then, only two hundred or three hundred were taken from the whole nation each year, but in our time, two or three thousand were admitted. It was as if they were using a bucket to scoop us up.

There was no sense that you personally might be hit by a bullet. You fought for the sake of the nation, for the sake of justice, whenever or wherever the Imperial Standard led. We didn't even think of the pain of being blown to pieces. The objective of war is always these things. No wars have ever been fought for any other reasons. For "the sake of His Imperial Highness" seemed to embody everything—nation, history, race, and peace. That's why it served to inflame passions and cause everyone to seethe with fervor. For Japan, that was a sacred war. Japan claimed it would unite the eight corners of the world under one roof. If Japan had declared it was fighting only to add territory, I don't believe we ever could have gone as far as Borneo.

From Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York, NY: The New Press, 1992, pp. 77–78.

Serviceman B

Reveille was at 6 a.m. You had to get up, make your bed and put on your uniform fast enough to be lined up in the parade ground by 6:05 sharp for morning exercises. After exercises you washed, went to the kitchen, collected breakfast and ate at top speed. Next it was wash up, clean your table, return plates and utensils to the place where they belonged, but while you were still doing that the next bugle call would sound for the beginning of the morning training session, so you would rush back to the parade ground for training. And so it went on, non-stop, all day, until evening, when you collapsed in your bunk just in time for "lights out."

Then there would be silence and peace, for perhaps five or ten minutes, until the older soldiers came. They would walk in, turning on all the lights again and shouting: "Come on, up, and out of bed all of you," and we would line up between the bunks. If anyone had made a mistake or failed to keep up during the day's training, everyone in the corps would be beaten, because we were all considered responsible for each other's mistakes. It wasn't so bad when they beat us with their hands, but often they would use belts or leather slippers. They struck your back or buttocks, or your face. All the time we were at Morioka, the insides of our mouths were full of cuts and swellings from their blows. But they knew how to beat people without causing serious injury if they wanted to. They were professionals, you see.

Some days we had made no mistakes in training, so they had to think of other excuses to beat us. They might check the recruits' shoes and clothes for tiny specks of dirt. Or, on other nights, they would order us to recite the Emperor's Directive to the Military. We were all reasonably intelligent and well-educated people, so we rarely had any difficulty reciting it by heart, but if we did not make mistakes they could always beat us for saying it too softly or too loud. I don't remember a single night that passed without someone being beaten for something.

Girl students with cherry blossoms sending off a kamikaze pilot, May 1945. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

For the first few days, of course, we felt angry about it, but there was never any real resistance. The reason why was this: from the moment we got up to the moment we slept we did not have as much as five minutes for our own thoughts. If human beings are deprived of time to think, do you know what happens to them? They become machines. That was the whole purpose of the system. We lost all sense of pride in ourselves and our achievements. We were left only with the two most basic instincts—to eat and to sleep.

From Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Shōwa: An Inside History of Hirohito's Japan*. New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1985, pp. 114–15.

Serviceman C

Every day and every hour [in Burma] at the front is a staring match with the enemy. Each side is always looking for an unguarded moment on the part of the other, in order to kill those on the other side. There are nothing but tools for killing on the front lines. There are no houses to live in, no toilets, no baths, no food, no clothes. In the dry season, the burning tropical sun blazed down on us in the foxholes that we dug ourselves. In the wet season there was no shelter from the rain. We would be drenched inside the muddy foxholes. If we put covers over our holes, we became immediate targets. Our bed at night was on the ground. . . .

There was no way that we could have toilets under such conditions. We had to [defecate] on the ground. There was no paper, so we used clumps of dirt or crumpled-up leaves. During the day we were unable to leave our foxholes, so we did our business inside and covered it over with dirt. During the rainy season, it was . . . all diarrhea, diarrhea, and malaria.

During the dry season there was almost no water. We had only one mess tin full of cooking and drinking water, which we risked danger in order to find. We had no way to wash our clothes or our bodies. We wore the same clothes all the time. Instead of a bath, we used our sweat as soap to rub off the dirt on our bodies. We lived together with the lice and ringworm on our bodies. . . .

At the front life and death are side by side at each instant. Each day when night fell I thought, "I've lived through another day." That was the front.

From Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 158–59.

Serviceman D

In March 1942 a post was fixed in the ground in a corner outside the town in Shan County of Shandong Province. In a hollow next to the post cowered five captured Chinese soldiers, their hands tied behind their backs. They were painfully emaciated and absolutely filthy. Their faces twitched, and their bodies trembled.

These prisoners were to be used as targets for bayonet practice by twenty-some raw recruits. During my training period with the Kōfu Regiment we used straw dummies as targets. Here on the

> battlefront they used live human beings. About to stab a human being for the first time in their lives, the new recruits were terrified—their faces sheet white. The tips of their bayonets quivered as they stood ready.
>
> The prisoners were blindfolded and tied to the post. A circle was drawn in red chalk around the area of the heart on their grimy clothes. As the bayonet training began, the instructor bellowed out, "Ready? The red circle is where the heart is. That's the one place you're prohibited to stab. Understood?"
>
> I had thought that the instructor had marked the area to make it easier for the new recruits to stab the heart. But that was my misunderstanding. It was to make the prisoners last as long as possible.
>
> Several minutes later, shrill war cries echoed continuously outside the town. The prisoners, their bodies honeycombed with bayonet stabs, crumpled in a pool of blood.
>
> War had transformed the instructors and the soldiers into frenzied murderers. This abnormal state of mind must be unfathomable to today's young people who haven't experienced war.

From Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, p. 65.

Serviceman E

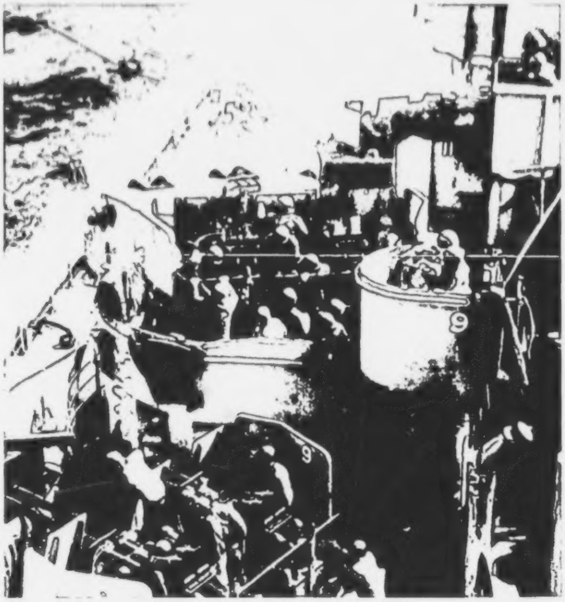
With Allied victories mounting, Japanese leaders needed weapons they could produce quickly and easily. Their solution was to create a "special attack" corps composed of kamikaze,[6] young servicemen with little training who would sacrifice themselves by piloting aerial bombs and submarine torpedoes.

There were various types of aircraft. One was a glider loaded with explosives and attached to a mother plane. As the aircraft approached an enemy ship, the pilot in the winged-bomb would pull a handle that would release him from the mother plane and shoot him forward. The pilot would then activate booster rockets that would speed him even faster toward the targeted ship.

Among the underwater bombs, the most well-known was the *kaiten* (turning of the heavens), which was a manned torpedo transported by a mother submarine. When the submarine neared an enemy ship, it released the *kaiten*. The goal of the pilot inside was to crash and explode it into the enemy ship.

Japanese leaders believed that the fearlessness and self-sacrifice of the kamikaze would convince the Allies that they could never defeat such a fierce and dedicated opponent. Unfortunately for the kamikaze, they often missed their targets. Although 5,000 kamikaze volunteers died in battle, they destroyed very few enemy ships, and the 300 ships they damaged returned to battle after having been repaired.

Like the samurai, the kamikaze saw the cherry blossom as its symbol: just as radiant yet fragile petals float from their branches, so do fighters detach themselves from life without regret.[7] A kamikaze who died in 1945, when he was twenty-two years old, wrote this haiku poem.



A kamikaze bomber aiming toward the U.S.S. Missouri. *Courtesy of the National Archives (80-G-315811-A), Washington, D.C.*

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[6] Kamikaze and *shimpū* are two ways to read the characters that mean "divine wind." Both terms refer to the pilots who constituted the special attack units.

[7] Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975, pp. 290, 439.

If only we might fall
Like cherry blossoms in the Spring—
So pure and radiant! [8]

> I didn't die in a Kaiten. I lived forty-five years after that. Still, up to today I don't know why I was born. Yet here I am alive. Writing my book may be it. I consider it part of my will. But they tell me, "That kind of book won't sell anymore." Yet, I feel I must do something, so I keep writing. My heart goes out to those who died so young. I still feel their deaths had some meaning. They didn't die from illness. Each died with a clear purpose in mind.
>
> He speaks softly, with little outward show of emotion.

At the time of Pearl Harbor, I was only nearing the end of my second year at the Higher School. The war was being fought by adults. Students were still deferred from the draft. If everything had gone normally, I wouldn't have graduated from [the] university until March 1946. I was sure I was absolutely safe, and I acted that way.

Then they changed the rules. The first thing they did was reduce the period of study. That happened just before the outbreak of the Pacific War. I was forced into university after two years and six months instead of the normal three years. Then in the fall of 1943, student exemptions were canceled. The day after the announcement was made I went to my campus. Everything was in an uproar at Tōkyō Imperial University. Nobody knew anything. Some said, "They'll never take students from the Imperial universities. Not Tōdai and Kyōdai [Tōkyō Imperial University and Kyōtō Imperial University]!" But as things turned out, that couldn't have been further from the truth. In October I was pulled into the military. Forced in.

I was skinny. I didn't think I'd be able to take it if they got hold of me. I was sure I just wasn't cut out to be a soldier or a sailor. Officers from the army had been attached to our schools since my middle-school days. They were swaggering bastards. I couldn't stand them. The navy looked better from the outside, and I did find myself in the navy, a second-class seaman, the lowest thing it was possible to be. I took the officers' examination. They felt that those of us from the Law Faculty of Tōkyō Imperial University had the minimal qualifications to sit for the paymaster exam in the Imperial Japanese Navy.

What happened was that with one exception, everyone in my group who wore eyeglasses became paymasters. In those days, seventy percent of Tōdai students wore specs. Then they called out the names of all those who'd been assigned to gunnery, navigation, torpedo school, but they didn't call mine. Next they announced the names of those who had been selected for service as "defense-specialty reserve students." Mine was the only name called. "Defense-specialty?" At that time I didn't know we were losing battles one after another. I thought, "I don't have to attack! That's great. Things have really worked out well." But in the kind of war they were really fighting, "defense specialist" was a black joke.

I was sent to the antisubmarine-warfare school in February 1944 and was stuck there until the end of October. I was fed up with school by then. "What am I doing in this place?" I asked myself that when they started calling for volunteers who were "full of energy," who were "willing to take on a dangerous job," and "willing to board a special weapon" that would "reverse the tide of the war at once." Why not? It's got to be better than this. I applied for it carelessly. Almost ninety percent of us volunteered.

Since they only wanted forty of us, though, I was pretty sure I wouldn't be one of those selected. They called us out a second time, a third time. Each time some of our classmates hadn't been chosen. In the end, we began dimly to grasp the criteria used in selection. Eldest sons were removed from the list. You had to be a second son or lower. Even then, if you had an older brother at the front, they took you off the list. If you were the third son, but neither of your elder brothers had a chance to survive, you were dropped. I was a second son. My younger brother was still in middle school. My eldest brother was an officer in the navy. I suppose they thought my younger brother had a good chance to survive, so I was picked. But

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[8] Quoted in Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975, p. 276.

I never imagined I'd be going to a place from which I'd have absolutely no chance to return alive.

So forty of us entered the Kaiten Corps. We arrived at Kawatana on the twenty-fourth of October. There weren't any weapons for us yet. They couldn't even tell us what these secret weapons would be. Highly classified, was what they said. At Kawatana they had these plywood motorboats—they called them Shinyō, "Ocean Shakers." We charged into "the enemy" on those! You fixed the helm three hundred meters before impact, locking the rudder in place. A hand-engaged lever controlled acceleration. Once you let go of it, it didn't automatically let up like the pedal of a car. Then you jumped into the sea. The unmanned boat would then plunge into a target representing the enemy. They weren't telling you that you had to die. We were wearing life jackets, but you had to wonder if it was possible to survive this kind of attack. I thought it was damned outrageous, but they told us not to worry, the Kaiten would be a much superior weapon. How could I have imagined they wouldn't include any escape system at all?

As we were beginning our training, the first announcement of Kamikaze attacks was made. I think that was October 29. Reading the news of the "Divine Wind" Special Attack Corps in the newspapers—planes crashing into the enemy ships—I was bowled over. Even then, I didn't grasp the true nature of the Kamikaze. I still wondered, "What are they going to do if they parachute down in the middle of the enemy fleet?" Yet there I was. We couldn't share our doubts with each other. We were all drawn from different universities. If I had expressed my disquiet, my university could have been disgraced. I had to keep my own counsel.

Today, I know they deceived us! I know it with all my heart! But then—and for many years afterward—I thought it must have been me. I thought I misheard them. We only received explanations orally. I thought I missed what they said. Even a decade ago, I had some doubts. But in 1987 a document turned up. When I saw that for the first time, I knew. The document had been drafted August 20 and issued August 31, 1944, by the Chief of the Personnel Bureau and the Chief of Education of the Imperial Navy. It bears the seals of Navy Minister Yonai Mitsumasa and his chief subordinates. It sets forth instructions for recruiting and training reserve student officers to fill positions in special-weapons units, and outlines how to select and train them. It expressly forbids touching on the weapon's capabilities or its use. Those doing the soliciting were instructed to say only that if you attack in the weapon you'll kill the enemy without fail. They were told to state that some danger was involved. But that was all. Seeing those words in print, I knew they'd misled us deliberately.

As we were waiting to move to our final staging base at Hikari we received a postcard from one of our comrades who'd gone there ahead of us. On it was "Say hello to Kudō." That was our code phrase for "Escape is impossible." Until that moment we had had no confirmation that the Kaiten was a self-exploding weapon which gave you no chance to escape death.

We'd heard rumors, but I didn't actually see one until I got to Hikari. The body was painted flat black. It overwhelmed a man. A small sail and a tiny periscope located at its center seemed to disturb the harmony of the whole. The rear third was a Type-93 torpedo. A maintenance officer described it to us dispassionately, "The total length is fourteen point five meters. Diameter, one meter. The crew is one man. Explosive charge one point six metric tons. Navigation range seventy-eight thousand meters. Maximum speed thirty knots."

I was supposed to be ready for this, but the shock nearly knocked me down. In the summer of 1946, I recorded my thoughts at that moment: "At last we saw the weapon we would ourselves board. I sensed something larger than the power of a human being glowering down at me. I lost my reason and my emotions. I was dumbfounded. I felt that I had myself turned into something no longer human." I couldn't really tell, at that time, whether what I sensed was higher or lower than a human being, but I felt I now knew why we human beings could no longer control our own destiny.

If you worked at it carefully, you could get out of the Kaiten Corps. All you had to do was fail to operate the Kaiten properly and do the same thing again on your second try. You'd be shouted at: "You stupid bastard! We won't let a dumb [expletive] like you operate a Kaiten!" and they'd take you off the list. But I never thought of escaping myself;

that would only have meant somebody else dying in my place. Even if the whole unit had to be replaced, they'd have found others. It was that kind of system. I couldn't bear the idea of sacrificing someone else by quitting. I knew if I did, I'd regret it for the rest of my life, even if I never knew his name. I hated the thought that I'd fail and they'd say, "Those reserve students are no good!" I couldn't do that to the others. I wanted to navigate well. Like they say in Chinese, *"Mei fa"*—"It can't be helped." I was resigned to it.

It was horrible to contemplate death in a Kaiten. Many young men charged into the enemy and died during the war—in Kamikaze planes, in Ōka manned rocket bombs, in Shinyō boats. If everything went well for them, and the battleship that was their target was close, looming in front of them, at least they could count the seconds to impact: "Three, two, one . . ." Then, as long as they kept their eyes open, they'd know the moment of their deaths!

But the Kaiten wasn't like that. You're underwater. You can't look out. You've already determined your course, peering through the periscope. "The enemy position in one minute and thirty seconds will be this. I set my angle of attack at this." You submerge. You run full speed at the estimated enemy position. From the moment you commence your attack, you see nothing. You have a stopwatch. You know how much of the one minute and thirty seconds has elapsed. But you may have made an error in measurement. You keep thinking, "Now. Now. Now!" But you never know when that moment will come. "Time's elapsed," you realize. "I missed the target." You come to the surface. You search again for the enemy. You realize you passed astern. Once more you set your course. But again, you don't know the moment of your death. You may die ahead of schedule. You don't even know that. I can't imagine a crueler weapon. Yet I can't ask anyone how they felt at that moment, because no one who experienced it came back alive.

There were men who returned as many as four times from missions, but in every case it was because their Kaiten was unable to launch from the host submarine, or no enemy was found. Nobody who was launched from a submarine ever returned, so we don't know their feelings. At that final moment a cold sweat must have broken out. Or maybe they went mad. But there are no witnesses. Nothing could be crueler than that. Nothing. Who am I to say that a Kaiten pilot could remain sane at a moment like that? In the book I've been writing about the Kaitens, I couldn't put these thoughts in it. With the families of those who'd perished in mind, I just couldn't say that aloud. Even after forty years, I just couldn't write it. Such a hardhearted weapon! So callous. I have here a list of the dead. All of them. I still wonder how they felt at the moment of death.

In reality, hardly any ever hit an enemy ship. Those who returned following Kaiten launches say they heard the sounds of explosions. They say they heard them just before the mother ship broke off to return home or seek new targets. That must mean they self-detonated. When the Kaitens are released to begin their attacks, the targeted ships are far, far away. The pilots try desperately to overtake them. They fail. They're alone in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. It's possible to open the hatch and climb out. But what would you do in the middle of the Pacific? I believe they thought it better just to blow themselves up. At least I'll die in one blast, they may have thought. That, I don't know. Nobody knows.

The verification of all American ships lost during the war has long been completed. According to their records, Kaitens claimed just three ships sunk or heavily damaged. One at the Ulithi Atoll was hit, two others in the open Pacific. But I'm sure there must be ships not registered by the American military—drafted ships, Australian ships, British ships, others for which records are not complete. Some might have been lost to Kaitens, so I cannot speak with absolute confidence. Still I can't help thinking, with the exception of those three pilots who hit, how must the others have felt?

One hundred and six Kaiten pilots lost. This includes seventeen killed in practice or in accidents. With the three hits, that means eighty-six remain to be accounted for. Two were lost during an air raid on their base. Seven were killed on ships transporting them, others together with their mother ships. The total number of men who were actually able to carry out attacks was very small, I tell you, very small.

There was a plan to build one thousand Kaitens over several months, but in reality only four hundred to four hundred fifty were produced. They assembled one thousand three hundred sixty-four pilot candidates, but manufacturing fell behind. It wasn't that they trained many at once and then selected the best. There weren't enough training boats or instructors for that. You got about four practice runs in basic training. If you survived without accidents, then you were appointed to an attack unit. There you practiced some more and then went on your mission. I first actually boarded a Kaiten in May. It was an "accompanied ride" with an apprentice instructor. How long I'd waited for that moment!

I don't know who selected the attack unit. There were usually five or six men in a unit. When you were selected, the commander of the unit called you up and informed the others, "You will serve in my unit." From that moment on, they considered themselves as one.

One hundred and twenty-one men who had graduated from the naval academy were assigned to our unit. Two hundred and thirty of us were reserve students. We also wore the single cherry blossom on our collars, but the naval academy graduates used to tell us, "You got your cherry blossoms from Roosevelt. You became ensigns after only a year. We spent years earning ours." We thought, "Hell, it wasn't us who wanted these things."

They beat us up regularly. I don't think they used such methods at the naval academy, but with us they didn't hold back. In the navy, they put almost superstitious faith in the belief that brutality and physical punishment made better sailors. Normally, though, officers didn't touch the men under them, but the regular officers in the Kaiten Unit must have believed it was the best way to handle these irregular upstarts, these former students, so weak in spirit. They never let up. "Academy this, academy that"—we didn't give a damn how they did it at the naval academy, but at the same time we thought, "We'll show 'em, they'll see what we can do." I guess that's what they wanted us to feel.

The Kaiten Corps was formed on September 1, 1944, on Ōtsushima. The first Kaiten attacks were made in November and December. The fervor was intense. The Hikari Base opened December 1, and the first attack force left there February 20. Everyone was caught up in a mad rush. By the time the second and third attack forces departed, the frenzy had died down and a sort of normality had taken hold.

Dispatching the attack force was a grand show, let me tell you. It was so thrilling. Probably every man who sent off his fellows was himself carried away with excitement. It was almost like the departure for battle of a great general and his samurai warriors in the feudal age—very different from the pushbutton war of today. There was a sense of man-to-man combat in it. In the army, war had already become a clash of power against power, a battle of tank divisions, or mass war like the Imphal attack in Burma. The individual was obliterated in a war like that. Even air war was no longer the clash of lone warriors. But the Kaiten was still an individual affair. An elaborate ritual was staged, a grand send-off.

"Tomorrow, I'll be the one sent off like that," we thought. "There's no distance separating me, the new arrival, from those departing today and those who have already gone and are now dead." I could send them off without feeling guilt, but how did these paymasters or the superior commanders who were not themselves going to die feel? I can't tell you that. I never thought the Emperor could act on his own. I didn't see myself throwing my life away for him, nor for the government either, nor for the nation. I saw myself dying to defend my parents, my brothers and sisters. For them I must die, I thought.

From Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York, NY: The New Press, 1992, pp. 313–19.

At the Home Front

"One hundred million [people], one mind."
"Abolish desire until victory."[9]

Seeking to control dissent and inspire citizens to give their heart and soul to the war effort, the

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[9] Slogans used in Japan during the war. From Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York, NY: The New Press, 1992, p. 169

Japanese government created the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. Its purpose was to unite all political parties, neighborhood associations, schools, and unions into one massive war machine. The association perpetuated the notion that defending the nation was a divine mission because the emperor was the direct descendant of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess. In this view, Japan could not lose the war because its ruler and lands were holy, and the spirit and virtues of the people were superior. Such propaganda made the Japanese fierce and determined fighters and helped to mobilize for war all of the country's limited industrial and natural resources.

Civilians of all ages joined the effort. Groups of men and women conducted fire-fighting drills with buckets and ladders, women practiced fighting with bamboo spears, and students dug air-raid trenches. Families collected pots and pans and monks contributed metal gongs and vases, all to be melted down and used for military production. Because men had been drafted into military service, women and school-age youths replaced them—primarily as factory workers, but also as bus drivers, clerks, barbers, and other workers. Koreans and Chinese were forced into slave labor in the most dangerous jobs, with tens of thousands dying under unbearable conditions.

People were told to endure the hardships of war by shunning all wasteful practices. As the war progressed, shortages of food, clothes, and basic necessities worsened. Chronically hungry, people resorted to the black market to buy at astronomical prices what little they could afford.

Boys digging air-raid trenches, ca. 1945. They demonstrate their support of soldiers by having similar short haircuts. From Asahi Shimbunsha, Tōkyō.

Women working in a munitions factory in Tōkyō. From Asahi Shimbunsha, Tōkyō.

In the name of national security, people were told to inform on anyone who might hold ideas contrary to government policy. The Kenpeitai (military security police) and other police units supervised newspapers and public meetings, searched travelers' baggage, examined personal diaries, and arrested people on the slightest suspicion of harboring dissident thoughts.

Hardship turned to suffering and death when the Allies—hoping to force Japan into submission by completely shattering its home economy—began the relentless bombing of Japan's cities, killing and maiming hundreds of thousands of civilians. Finally, in August 1945, the U.S. government dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, causing horrible suffering and tragic death.

Civilian A

This happened shortly before the War's end, when Japan's defeat was unavoidable. A military policeman suddenly came to our house. At that time, under the National General Mobilization Law promulgated during the War, my family had been

Tōkyō schoolchildren getting their lessons in an underground air-raid tunnel, ca. 1945. From Asahi Shimbunsha, Tōkyō.

forced to discontinue our hereditary textile-weaving business and convert to a machine parts factory. We were in the midst of hard times doing unaccustomed work.

After looking over our factory and finding fault with such things as the number of buckets for fire-fighting purposes and the lack of sandbags, the soldier said he had something to ask my father. He told him to present himself at ten o'clock the following morning at the military police substation. Then he departed.

I ran after him to ask what the summons was for, but he only said we would find out when my father got there. Apparently, on his way back he stopped by at a store near our house and asked about our family's reputation.

Father went off the next day to the military police substation. He didn't return even after nightfall. I had a sinister premonition. We telephoned, but they gave us no information. At about 9 p.m., I went alone to the substation. When I gave my reason for being there, the man who had come to the entranceway suddenly yelled at me, "We won't kill him! Go on home!" There was nowhere I could turn.

Father was finally released around midnight. According to him, someone in our neighborhood had informed on him. Father had said that Saipan had fallen to the American forces, so things were serious. He had mentioned this in conversation at a farewell party for a soldier being sent to the front. Someone in the neighborhood had reported this to the military police.

Father was questioned persistently about the source of his information about Saipan. Only after he was forced to give a written explanation was he released. After that our family was constantly under military police observation. These unpleasant days continued until the War's end. I learned from this experience that war tears people's hearts and leaves deep scars.

From Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 177–78.

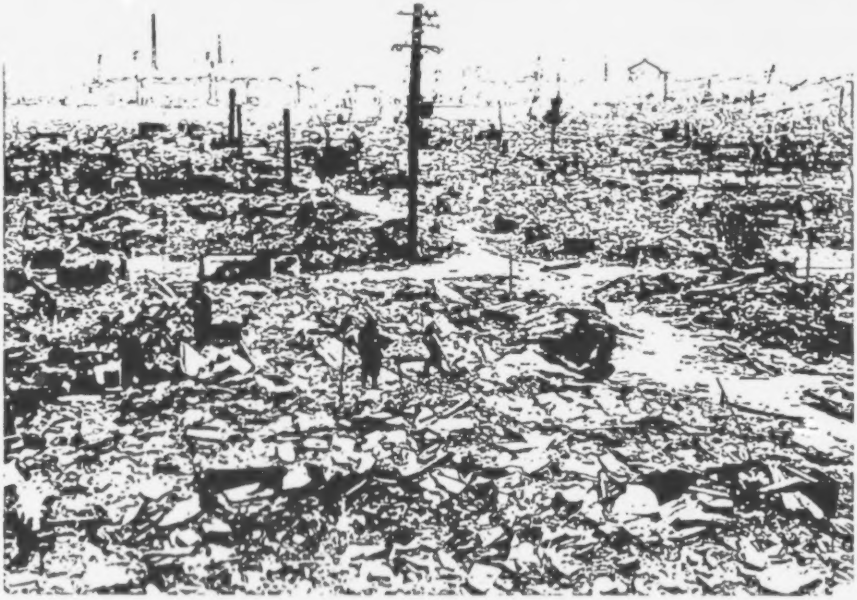
Civilian B

Satō Toshio, who worked in Sapporo's social welfare office, was critical of the government's war policies. The day after the War between Japan and the United States started, he was arrested, ostensibly for preventive detention under the Peace Preservation Law. He was confined in Naebo Prison. This sort of thing was happening all over the country. It was the dark underside of the Japanese people's jubilant festivities at the news of the successful attack on Pearl Harbor. Under relentless torture, amid deteriorating living conditions, Toshio died in prison on 14 May 1944, at the age of thirty-four. He did not live to see the day of defeat that he had predicted would come. The blood-curdling events leading to his death are faithfully recorded in *Inside the Infirmary*. This was written after the War by Sasaki Sentarō, who was confined in the isolation cell across the corridor.

Toshio's naked body was released without a stitch of clothing on it to his wife and four-year-old daughter. His courageous wife pressed the officials, saying, "Don't you people have even the compassion to put a sheet over someone you've killed with your own hands?" They could only mumble in reply.

As a "traitorous" family, she and her daughter lived under observation by the Special Higher Police and suffered the cold stares of society. Working day and night during and after the War, Toshio's widow died exhausted.

After the War's end, the story was that the War was waged against the Emperor's will. The military men and politicians who thus went against the will of the Emperor and started the War were



Ōsaka, a wasted rubble after being flattened by incendiary bombs, June 1945. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

Homeless survivors carry possessions they salvaged after the firebombing of their city of Kōbe, May 1945. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

granted pensions, while those who died who had been in agreement with the Emperor received no compensation. Wanting to find out what crime her father was judged to have committed, Toshio's daughter, who had grown up during the difficult times after the War, requested the court to issue a copy of his trial records. The single response she received was that "the documents requested were burned up." This daughter later became my wife.

It is not necessarily the enemy's bullets that are to be feared during a war. What is frightening beyond words is the process by which a government run amok can kill its own citizens who have committed no crimes.

From Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 178–79.

Civilian C

It must have been toward the end of 1943 that about twenty Americans in two boats tried to land on the beach at Motose on Cape Irō, the southernmost point of the Izu peninsula. The village was in an uproar. Eager to show off their training, the village women gathered on the beach, holding spears fashioned of bamboo. Some showed up with hoes and sickles as well. Their comments ranged from, "Come on ashore, come ashore and we'll kill you!" to "Here's revenge for my man's death—get ready for your end!"

Standing at the water's edge, they cried shrilly and waved their "weapons." Awakened to their role as defenders of the home front, these women were filled with ferocious spirit. Standing behind them, I also held two rocks in my hands. The enemy, surprised at this scene, stopped their boats far offshore and watched us but showed no signs of attacking. After a while, all the men stood up and raised their arms, saying *"Banzai."* A piece of white cloth was tied to a pole. "All right, they've surrendered. Let's take them all prisoner." A few villagers rushed home to get some rope.

One of the men who came cautiously ashore gestured exaggeratedly, trying to tell us something. But the villagers, who had never seen a foreigner before, had no way of understanding him. They stood ready, expressions tense. Thinking that I, who worked at the weather station, might be able to get through to them, they pulled me up front. But my "this-is-a-pen" level of English was ineffective. I was able to figure out that they seemed to be speaking German. We had a nearby doctor come by. He confirmed that they were Germans whose ship had been attacked by an American submarine. They had come to our coast in lifeboats.

This meant they were our allies. The villagers' stance changed immediately. They rushed to shake hands with the foreigners. We set about preparing a party to welcome them, but they were put on a bus sent to meet them and whisked off somewhere. A dog, which must have been their pet, bounded up the steps of the bus, its tail wagging excitedly.

From Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, p. 171.

Civilian D

Because strategic bombing failed to cripple Japan's industry and force a surrender, U.S. government officials decided to step up their attack by bombing entire cities. From late 1944 to July 1945, they sent waves and waves of B-29s to over sixty cities, dropping thousands of tons of firebombs and napalm. The resulting firestorms were so hot that buildings exploded from the intense heat generated by the approaching walls of flames. Death, devastation, and destruction lay in their wake. In one raid alone in March 1945, 100,000 people in the capital city of Tōkyō perished in the flames. In the following excerpt, a Tōkyō survivor recounts her experience.

She was living with her family in Tōkyō on the night of March 9, 1945, when the Japanese capital was attacked by 325 B-29 heavy bombers.

The tactics adopted in this raid were a radical departure from those employed previously in attacks against Japan's cities. Most had been high-altitude daylight approaches to pinpointed targets, primarily employing high explosives. The commander of America's air offensive from the Marianas, General Curtis E. LeMay, ordered this raid to proceed largely at low altitudes of between 5,000 and 8,000 feet. Moreover, guns and ammunition were left off many of the planes, so that extra clusters of M-69 jellied-gasoline incendiary bombs could be carried. Each plane could carry 40 clusters, each comprising some 38 bombs, for a total of about 1,520 bombs per plane. The raiders dropped some high explosives and phosphorus munitions as well. Tōkyō's residential areas, rather than specific factory complexes, were the intended targets. The dispersal of Japanese industry among small workshops was given as a reason for the selection of the Shitamachi district along the Sumida River as the primary target zone. Studies made of the fires that followed the Kantō earthquake of 1923 and analysis of the construction of Japanese homes and neighborhoods had shown that such tactics would likely start uncontrollable fires. The goal was to incinerate as much of the city as possible.

Today Funato Kazuyo lives with her husband and two sons in Katsushika Ward, Tōkyō. Her husband was orphaned in the bombing of Tōkyō that day. Recently she wrote a children's book about her experiences. Tears well up in her eyes, and she is frequently overcome as she recalls that night.

Our school seemed to be shaded in militaristic hues. The themes of school pageants were "soldiers," or "buglers at the charge," or "military nurses." In all our compositions, drawings, and in calligraphy, we wrote to the soldiers of our gratitude for their fighting. Teachers became very strict, perhaps in order to bring up "little patriots" who would obey at a single command. My school was new, so it was easily militarized. We were famous for marching. After the morning assembly, we marched, and it made us feel just like soldiers. Martial music blared from speakers as we rapidly formed four lines, then eight lines, all in step. It was thrilling, carrying out crisp moves to the piercing commands of the physical education teacher. We also had air-defense drills. We put on our special fire helmets and, holding our school bags, we hid under the desks in our classroom. You covered your ears with your thumbs and with the remaining four fingers covered your eyes. They said our eyes would pop out and our eardrums burst if we didn't. We also practiced putting out fires by bucket relay.

I had three elder brothers. Kōichi, my eldest, and Minoru, the next, were in pharmacy school and both had been mobilized under the student mobilization law passed the year before. Minoru was dispatched to the Army Medical Supply Depot around March 1944. On August 11, I became the second to leave the family. I was sent to the countryside under the Group Evacuation Law. I was in the sixth grade. There were three younger than myself. Baby brother was only three months old when I left. If I'd remained at home I'd have been carrying him on my back, while supervising my younger sisters' play and running errands in our neighborhood. I wondered what would happen to the little ones when I left, but I was quite excited by the idea of going off with a large group. As it was, they evacuated to a relative's house with Grandmother.

We sixth-graders were finally sent home from our evacuation area in Yamagata on March 2, 1945. Six days after we got home came the raid. If evacuation was intended to save lives, there was no need for our return, but there wasn't space for us in the village anymore. New third-graders would soon be coming. I wrote Minoru a letter from Yamagata saying, "Let's meet in Tōkyō."

I didn't know my younger sisters were already back in Tōkyō. Hiroko had reached school age, so she had to have a physical examination in Tōkyō. Grandmother returned with Teruko on her back, saying, "If Hiroko is going back, we'll go too." The idea was to get the whole family together again in conjunction with my return for graduation.

Besides, air raids hadn't been that frequent in Tōkyō. We were really boisterous and happy. Yoshiaki, my third elder brother, returned, too. The night of March 9, Minoru came home from the site of his work mobilization. So, by chance, all of us were in Tōkyō that night. It was so unfortunate.

A north wind had been blowing all day. It was cold. We were all asleep because those days you retired early, since you couldn't burn the electric lights late. The first air raid came a little after ten o'clock. It came in a flash. There was a preliminary alert—three or four planes—but immediately, the warning was canceled. Just reconnaissance, they must have thought. Then the full force of the raid hit. When Mother woke me, all was in a terrible uproar, great loud noises everywhere. Father had to dash to his duty station at the school with his iron helmet and his haversack, because he was on the medical detail of the Vigilance Corps. At that time we always slept in monpe [loose-fitting work pants], so I awoke Hiroko while my mother put the baby on her back, and we went into the shelter dug under the shop. My three brothers had gone out to extinguish small fires from incendiary bombs. Suddenly Kōichi rushed in and told us to run in the direction of the school before our escape route was cut off. "We'll come later," he said. When we went out, we could see that to the west, in the direction of Fukagawa, everything was bright red. The north wind was incredibly strong. The drone of the planes was an overwhelming roar, shaking earth and sky. Everywhere, incendiary bombs were falling.

The baby on Momma's back howled. I had Hiroko by the hand. Teruko was staying at Grandmother's house. Minoru went there to get them. When he arrived, incendiary bombs were falling heavily and nobody was around, so feeling himself in great danger, he turned back. Mother, the baby, Hiroko, and I were by then in the shelters behind the school. They were uncovered and were more like lines of trenches. This was where we were supposed to assemble if anything happened.

Incendiaries began hitting near the school and the line of fire was coming closer. People panicked. Running, screaming. "We're all going to die! The fire's coming!" The sound of incendiary bombs falling, *"Whizzz,"* the deafening reverberations of the planes, and the great roar of fire and wind overwhelmed us. "If we stay here we'll die! Let's run!" Everybody danced to this theme. My mother and I, too. Many people who stayed there survived, but almost as if we were compelled to heed those voices calling, "Women and children, follow us. Why are you hesitating?" we jumped out. Somebody was shouting, "If you go toward Sunamachi you'll be safe!" Sunamachi was south of our house. Large bombs had fallen in the area weeks before and many parts of Sunamachi were nothing but vacant lots. Sunamachi was downwind and it was an ironclad rule to go upwind in a fire, but we couldn't go any further in the other direction. A firestorm lay that way. You'd have to go through it, and so many people were running madly away from the fire. "Make for Sunamachi!" We left the shelter and crossed the wooden bridge over the drainage ditch in front of the school. Then we ran into our three brothers. My father, too. The Vigilance Corps had given up. I felt, "At last we're safe."

Nearby was Sarue Onshi Park. Father must have judged that it would be safer to go in there, so we made for it, all holding hands. When we got to the foot of the small Ōshima Bridge they wouldn't let us enter the park. It was already full of people coming from the Fukagawa direction. We had to backtrack through that firestorm. Even two or three minutes was a terrible loss of time.

"Hold on tight, don't be separated," Minoru told me as he took my hand. Kōichi put Hiroko on his back. We ran in the direction of Sunamachi. There are many rivers and bridges in that direction. We reached Shinkai Bridge. Sunamachi lay beyond, but that's where we were all scattered. The wind and flames became terrific. We were in Hell. All the houses were burning, debris raining down on us. It was horrible. Sparks flew everywhere. Electric wires sparked and toppled. Mother, with my little brother on her back, had her feet swept out from under her by the wind and she rolled away. Father jumped after her. "Are you all right?" he screamed. Yoshiaki shouted, "Dad!"

I don't know if his intention was to rescue Father or to stay with him, but they all disappeared instantly into the flames and black smoke. Everything was burning. In front of us were factories, red flames belching from windows. Kōichi, Minoru, Hiroko, and I, the four of us, were the only ones left.

There was thick shrubbery and a slight dip at the foot of the bridge, and we huddled together there. Kōichi shouted that we couldn't go further, and we really couldn't go back. Many people jumped into Onagigawa, twenty meters wide. We could just barely see a roadside shelter from where we were. Ditches had been dug along many roadsides in case of air raids. Kōichi took Hiroko's hand and I clung to Minoru. We dashed across the road through the flames. Hiroko's headgear caught fire. It was stuffed with cotton. The four of us tumbled into the shelter. We tried to remove the burning cover from her head, but it was tied tight so as not to be blown away by the wind. Hiroko tried to pull it off herself, so both her hands were burned. Her hair burned, too. We were finally able to tear it off and smothered the fire with our legs. We lay flat on our stomachs, thinking that we would be all right if the fire was gone by morning, but the fire kept pelting down on us. Minoru suddenly let out a horrible scream and leapt out of the shelter, flames shooting out of his back. Kōichi stood up calling, "Minoru!" and, instantly, he too, was blown away. Only Hiroko and I remained.

There was someone else in the shelter, a schoolgirl. I was really saved by her. I don't think I could have endured the fear if it had been just Hiroko and me. There was no cover, and all the surroundings were aflame and sparks rained into the shelter, and Hiroko kept screaming, "It's hot, hot!" We would have jumped out, and my little Hiroko and I would have been killed. The schoolgirl came close to us. "I'm separated from my family. Let's do our best, the three of us." She was perhaps two years older than me. I don't remember if she told us her name or not. She covered Hiroko with her body and then we put Hiroko in between us and lay flat at the bottom of the air-raid ditch. Hiroko was burned very severely. She kept crying, "My hands hurt, my hands hurt. Please give me water, Kazu-chan." I scratched out a hollow in the earth and put her hands into it. She said her hands felt cool and comfortable. We spent the night there, waiting for the fire to pass.

First the sounds stopped. At the earliest signs of dawn the girl said, "Let's go back where it's already burned. Everyone will probably be safe and will return there. You'll be able to go home then." The thought of being separated from this girl made me anxious. I asked her where she was going, and she told me the Eighth District. Our house was in the opposite direction. We left the shelter together. By the Shinkai Bridge many people had perished. Those who couldn't cross the street and make it to the shelter had jumped into the river. Dead bodies covered the water. Some people had tried to escape by running under the bridge but they, too, had been roasted.

When I separated from the schoolgirl and re-crossed the bridge I'd crossed only the night before, I saw charcoal-black people. It was truly horrendous. There were some whose clothes were still smoldering but whose bodies weren't moving. Not just one or two. At the foot of the bridge was a small police station. Only the concrete was left. But I thought a policeman might be there anyway. I let Hiroko lean back against a concrete wall. Then the thought came that Father and my brothers would pass this way, that we'd meet here and go back to the pharmacy together. I was probably afraid of walking the street alone. I waited at the foot of the bridge, but nobody came. Hiroko asked for water. People said she should be taken to a relief station for treatment. Finally, we arrived at the burned-out area that once was our house. I was able to locate it only because in front we had a large concrete cistern full of water. In it was a dead man, half his body in the cistern. He wasn't burnt at all. Many of the glass bottles in my father's drug store had melted down. The store itself was a pile of rubble.

Everything was so quiet. Hiroko and I sat on the concrete steps at the entrance to the store and waited. A young woman from the neighborhood association came by and said, "Your eldest brother's just over there." Kōichi was sitting on a burnt-out truck in the garage of a delivery firm nearby. He couldn't see because he'd run through the smoke. He was trembling. "How could you have come back safe?" he asked. He'd assumed we were all dead. Tears of joy streamed down his face. As he left the shelter, he'd been bowled over and tumbled far down the street. He regained consciousness flat on his stomach, resting against a slight curb. That little bit of curb saved him.

A little while later Father appeared with Yoshiaki. The people who came back were like ghosts, uttering no words. They simply staggered back, thinking somebody might be where their houses had been. Father said, "Minoru wouldn't let himself die. He's too strong." He gave us first aid, using Mercurochrome and bandages. He told Hiroko, "You've been terribly burned, but Daddy's here. Don't worry." The five of us then waited for Mother. Quite a long time passed. Actually, Mother was already there, but no one recognized her. She wasn't shouldering my little brother. Her clothes were all charcoal. Her hair, too. She was covered from head to toe by a military blanket and she was barefoot. She was squatting down. Yoshiaki noticed her first. "Mom?" Father said, "What's happened to Takahisa?" My mother was silent. Her back and elbows were severely burned. Those who had run through that fire knew its savagery. We couldn't really ask what happened to our little brother. It was all one could do to save oneself. Mother's eyes were injured because of the smoke.

It's really a cruel thing to say, but I could see she had been holding Takahisa on her back. Where Takahisa's legs had touched her body there were horrible burns. Her elbows, where she was probably holding him to keep him from falling off, were burned so that you could see the raw flesh. She could barely walk. "You made it back, you made it back. That's wonderful!" was all my father could say. We put Mother in the garage and gave her some water and we all huddled together. Neighbors waited here and there for family members who hadn't returned. In my family, nobody else came back.

Near evening, our relatives from the Komatsugawa area, which hadn't burned, came to meet us with a pull-cart. They said they'd seen red plumes of flames like lotus flowers in the distance. Father delayed leaving as long as he could. "Just a little bit longer, a little bit longer," he kept saying. Finally, he left a piece of paper from his Vigilance Corps notebook with the address we were evacuating to.

We made it to a farmer's house in Komatsugawa. Mother groaned but didn't say anything about Takahisa. She didn't even cry, just lay flat on her stomach. Father went back to the burnt-out area looking for Minoru, Teruko, and Grandmother. It took two or three times before he gave up. At first, we thought about finding the remains, but we never located them. We contacted Minoru's school in vain.

Hiroko's condition worsened. She asked for water all the time, but couldn't swallow any. Father said it must be tetanus.[10] She had to be hospitalized, but most of the hospitals had been burned down. We were told there was a small one in Komatsugawa, so Father took her there on the back of the cart. As we thought, she had lockjaw. Father was told a serum shot might save her, but they had no serum there.

[10] Tetanus, a fatal disease, also called lockjaw, is caused not by a virus but by poisons produced by a bacterium.

Hiroko's face was burned very severely and her bandages soon became soaked with blood and pus. There were so few bandages available that we washed hers at home and then took them back to the hospital. That day, it was my day to wind bandages for her. She hadn't been there many days. I walked into the hospital room with the bandages. There was just one bed in a square concrete room. I said, "Hiro-chan, why are you sleeping with your eyes open?" I tried to close them, but they couldn't close. "Hiroko, Hiroko," I called. She didn't say a thing. Usually it was "I want water!" or "It hurts." Father, who had been staying with her, came in and said "Hiroko just died, even though I brought serum for her." I never heard of the tetanus virus before. Now, I learned for the first time that it lived in the soil. I was the one who had put her hands into that hole I dug in the moist ground of the shelter. The tetanus virus must have entered her then through her burns. When I heard this I couldn't sit still.

Many of our relatives were at Komatsugawa, and some said, "Kazu-chan, you were there with her, and you don't even have one burn, but Hiro-chan died." I'd done my best to scratch the soil to make a hole to cool her hands. I'd done it with all my childish heart. They'd praised me then. "You did so well," they said. Now, nine days later, my sister Hiroko was dead and they were whispering quietly about the reason. Father assured me it wasn't my fault. In disasters, tetanus and typhoid occur. But he also said poor Hiroko's life had been needlessly lost.

Although Mother never expressed it in words, I think she had the most difficult time. She had let the child on her back die. We don't know if she left him somewhere, or whether he just burnt up and fell. Once people who were trying to collect records on the Great Air Raid pleaded with us to ask her, but we couldn't. She's now eighty-eight years old. While she was still able to get around I used to take her to pray at their graves. She'd pour water on them and say, "Hiroko-chan, you must have been hot. Teruko-chan, you must have been hot."

From Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*, New York, NY: The New Press, 1992, pp. 343–49.

On August 6, 1945, an atom bomb exploded over Hiroshima and flattened the city; three days later, another bomb detonated over Nagasaki. People who were within 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) of the hypocenter perished from severe burns and ruptured organs, and buildings were completely destroyed. The intense heat also burned those 3.5 kilometers (about 2 miles) away, including the clothes they wore and the wooden houses they lived in.

The blast created a tremendous pressure and wind—stronger than a tornado—that blew people into the air, tore off their clothes and scorched their skin, and shot glass and debris into their bodies. The blast also released lethal radiation, which enveloped the area. Water vapor condensed on rising ash and dust, and the particles, heavy with radiation, fell as "black rain" on people, plants, and animals.

It is estimated that about 200,000 people died within three months of the two explosions. Many others were crippled for life. Years later, leukemia and other cancers continued to claim victims.

Questions

1. How would you support the statements that follow? Use the readings in this section to help you in your responses.

   "War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to face it."[11]

   "It is only those who have neither fired a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is hell."[12]

2. Serviceman D describes how Japanese officers ordered recruits to stab Chinese prisoners for bayonet practice. Who was responsible for the death of the prisoners? Explain your response.

3. Civilian D tried to keep her younger sister alive by covering her burned hands with dirt. But the younger sister died, apparently of tetanus contracted from the contaminated soil. Who was responsible for the younger sister's death? Explain your response.

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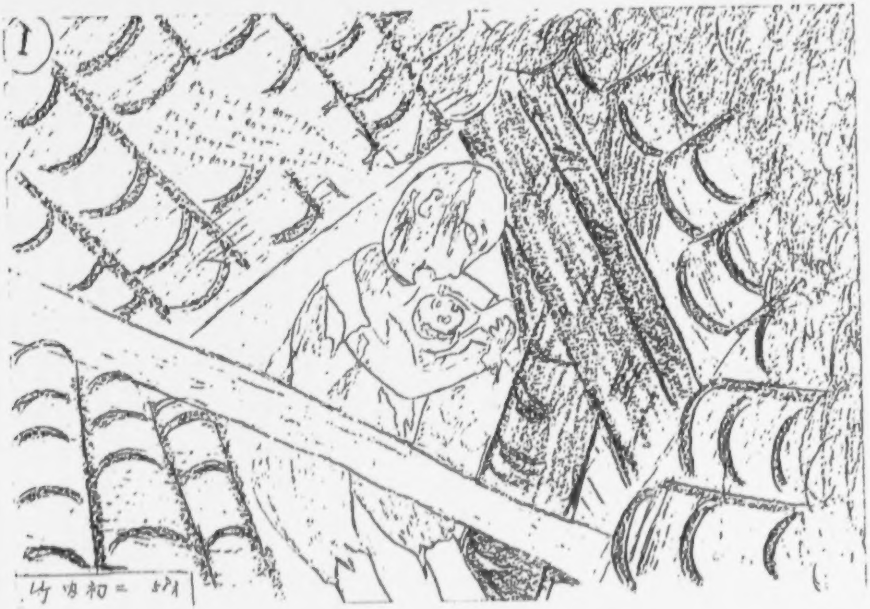
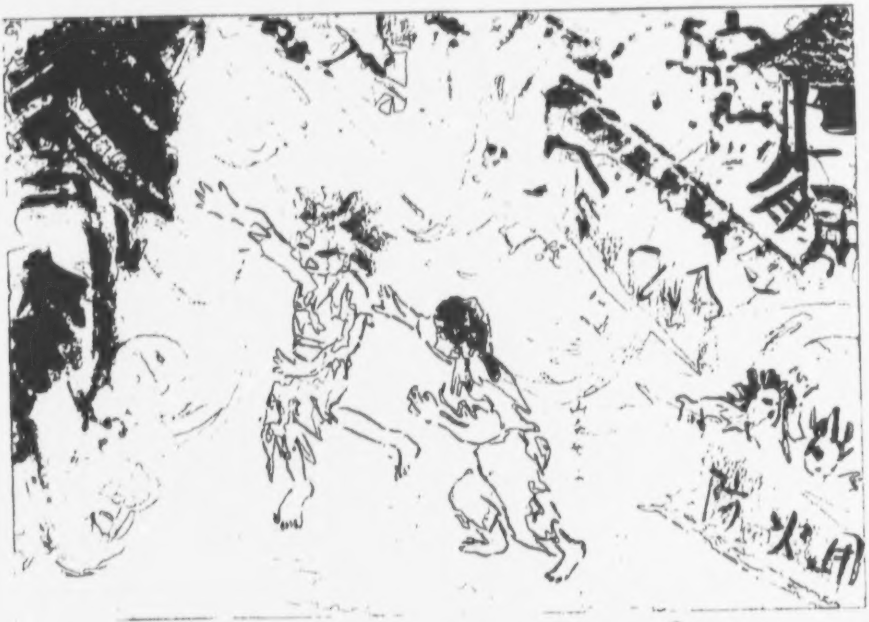
[11] Benito Mussolini, Italian Fascist dictator, ca. 1930.

[12] William Tecumseh Sherman, Union general in the American Civil War, 1879.

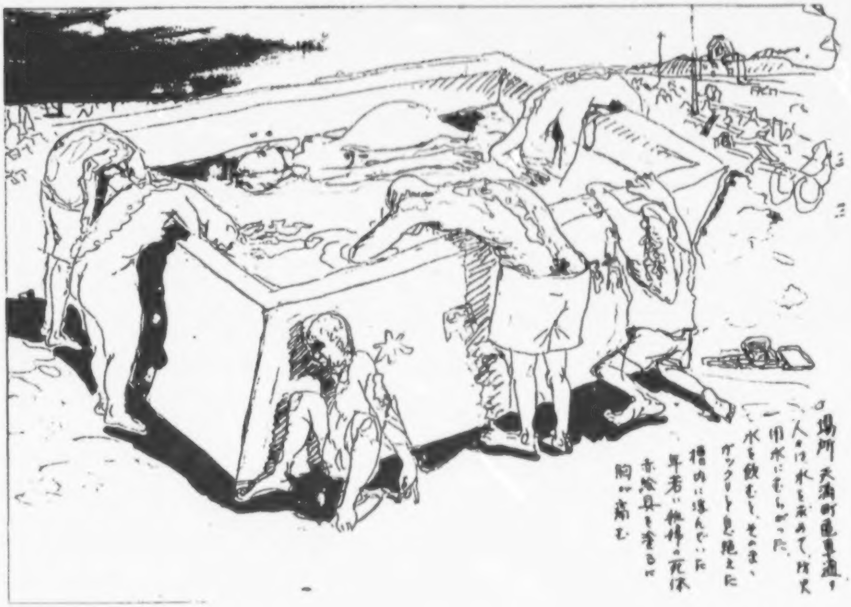
Thirty years after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, eyewitnesses recorded in art form what they had witnessed.



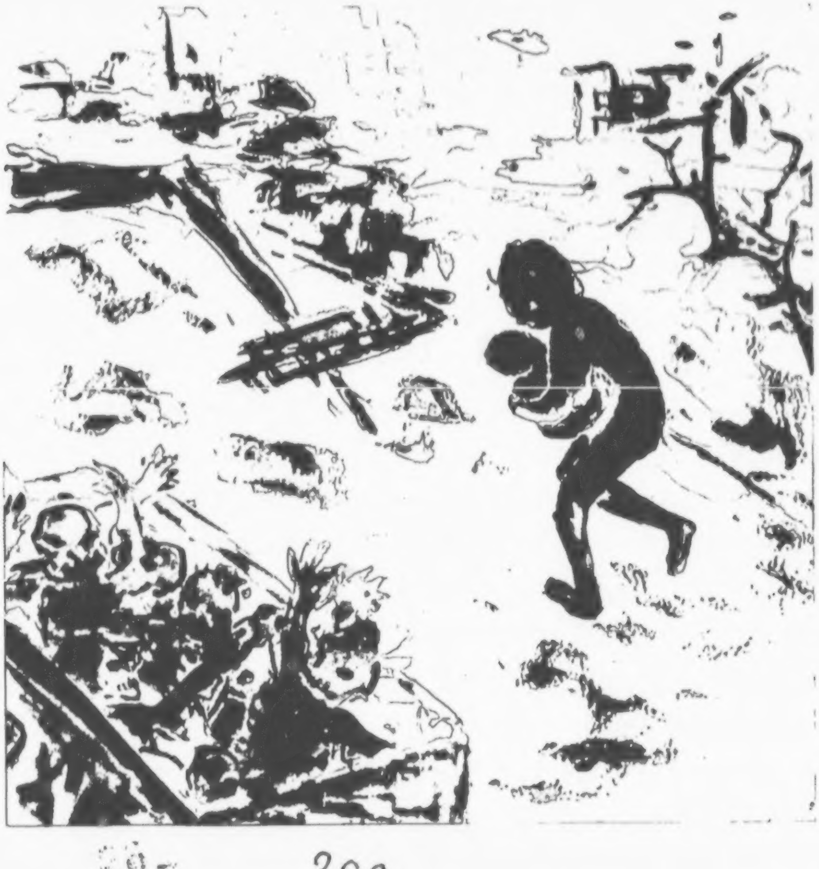
A woman is trapped in the wreckage of her burning house a few minutes after the atom bomb fell. By Hatsuji Takeuchi. From Japan Broadcasting Publishing Co., Tōkyō.



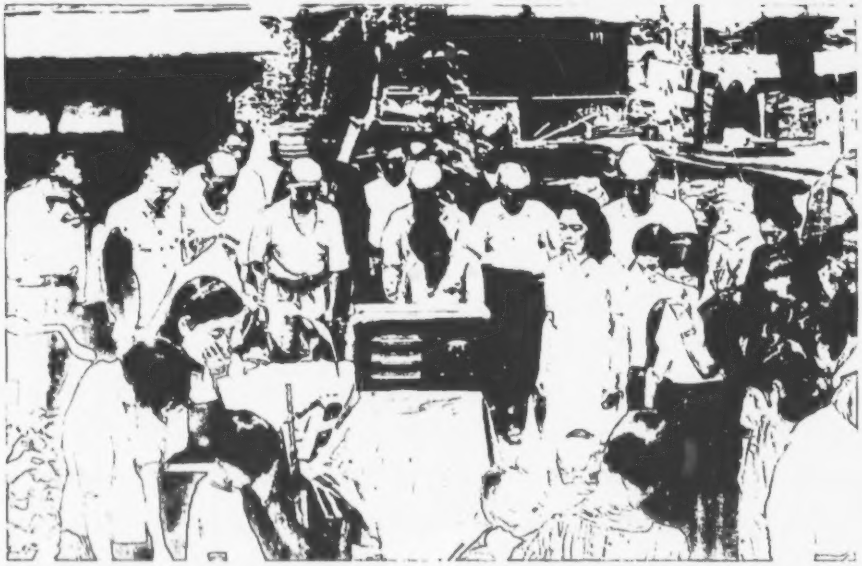
Michitsuji Yoshiko, the painter of this watercolor, shows herself and another girl running barefoot and bleeding in the fire. By Yoshiko Michitsuji. From Japan Broadcasting Publishing Co., Tōkyō.


○場所 天満町電車通り
人々は水を求めて、防火
用水にむらがった。
水を飲むと、そのまま、
ガックリと息絶えた
槽の中に浮んでいた
年若い女性の死体
赤絵具を塗るに
胸が痛む

Onoki Akira was sixteen when he saw people who were suffering from burns and radiation seek relief from extreme thirst and heat. By Akira Onoki. From Japan Broadcasting Publishing Co., Tōkyō.



In this artwork, Yasuko Yamagata recalls seeing corpses in a water tank and the dead body of a burnt woman—petrified—in the act of running and clutching her baby. By Yasuko Yamagata. From Japan Broadcasting Publishing Co., Tōkyō.



Japanese in Tōkyō listen to the emperor's announcement of Japan's surrender, August 1945. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

War Ends

Japan's "spiritual mobilization" was no match for America's technological and industrial supremacy. At Midway island in June 1942, the Allies had halted the Japanese military advance. In the battle they destroyed Japan's aircraft carriers, weapons, and planes. From that moment on, Japan was on the defensive.

Rather than try to recapture the colonies Japan had seized at the outbreak of the war, the Allies decided to cut Japan off from those colonies by destroying its Pacific shipping capacity. This strategy would deny Japan the raw materials it needed to pursue the war. In addition the Allies attacked Japan's economy at home by relentlessly bombing its cities and industrial plants, hoping to starve Japan into submission by completely shattering its home economy. The bombing began in late 1944. Waves and waves of U.S. B-29 bombers swept over the cities, dropping thousands of tons of bombs.

The attack on Japan's shipping and the firebombing of its cities soon left it short of oil, coal, food, factories, railroads, and houses. Modern life in Japan's cities collapsed. The Allies believed that without access to raw materials from its colonies, and with its houses and factories pounded to dust, Japan would have to surrender.

Some in the Japanese government believed Japan should surrender to the Allies, but the ultra-militarists, still dominating the government, refused to think of admitting defeat. These men fervently believed in the divinity of the Japanese emperor and in Japan's destiny as the power behind the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In their opinion, it was their divine duty to keep fighting. The militarist leaders were not the only people who felt this way. Years of government propaganda had made Japanese soldiers and civilians into fiercely dedicated subjects, and few were willing to face the shame of surrender. Moreover, many believed that the victorious Allies would punish Japan severely after the war. Wartime propaganda had convinced most Japanese that Allied troops would go on a rampage throughout Japan, killing the men and kidnapping the women without restraint. The Japanese, therefore, resorted to increasingly desperate measures, including kamikaze attacks.

As U.S. bombers continued to pound Japan's cities, those in the Japanese government who favored negotiating with the Allies began to gain ground against the militarists. Although the militarists still believed in the possibility of victory, many of Japan's moderate leaders were willing to consider surrender. But they worried about the fate of the emperor. They wanted guarantees from the Allies that he would not be tried for war crimes, and they hoped that he would continue as the sovereign of the country. The Allies rejected these conditions and demanded that the Japanese surrender unconditionally.

This demand left Japan's leaders unsure of the emperor's fate. They would not agree to such a surrender. Hoping to persuade the Allies to offer more favorable terms, they prepared to defend their islands to the death. The Imperial Rule Assistance Association organized citizen militias and taught them how to produce and use weapons made from sticks, bamboo, and kitchen tools. Throughout the

Hirohito: The Shōwa Emperor and the War

Born in 1901, Hirohito became emperor when he was twenty-five. His reign, which was given the name Shōwa—enlightenment and peace—spanned sixty-two years. During this time of great turmoil and change, Japan rose as a military power, engaged in a bloody world war, experienced desolation and defeat, and later emerged as an economic giant.

To this day there is no consensus on the emperor's personal responsibility for the war. Some scholars argue that except for a few extraordinarily rare instances, he was generally distant from direct involvement in most political and military decisions. Others contend that uppermost in his mind was his belief in the importance of the imperial tradition in Japanese society and of Japan's position in the world, and that while not engaged in day-to-day military planning, he supported the war and knew in advance of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.

As discussed elsewhere in this section, he made the final decision to surrender and announced this decision in a radio broadcast to his people. After Japan's defeat, the Shōwa emperor publicly renounced his former claim to divinity. Continuing to perform his ceremonial duties as the symbol of the nation in postwar Japan, he died in January 1989.

Hirohito presiding at a meeting of the War Council, ca. 1940. Courtesy of Imperial Household Agency, Tōkyō.

summer elderly men and young girls practiced bayoneting dummies with bamboo spears and other makeshift weapons.

It was in this context that in July 1945 Japan received the Allied ultimatum known as the Potsdam Declaration. Backed by the recently tested atom bomb and a promise from the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan, the Allies warned Japan that it must make a choice: Surrender unconditionally or face destruction. Japan's leaders temporized. U.S. leaders believed that Japan was choosing to ignore the warning.

Postwar Revelations

As time passed and global politics shifted, issues that had been suppressed for decades began coming to light in the international arena. So-called comfort women and former Japanese servicemen began to speak publicly about their experiences and actions during the war.

First coming to public attention during the 1960s, the issue of comfort women—a euphemism for sexual slaves in World War II—gained momentum in the late 1980s as South Korean women became willing to speak out publicly. A turning point came in December 1991, when a few Korean women filed a lawsuit in the Tōkyō District Court. Other lawsuits by other women followed. Representatives of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights held a public hearing in Tōkyō in December 1992, at which time they received documents and research reports and heard testimony. At first, Japanese officials denied responsibility, but as more and more documents came to light, they admitted that the armed forces were involved with the "comfort system."

What was this "comfort system"? It was a vast network of systematic, institutionalized forced prostitution extending throughout the Japanese-occupied areas in Asia and the Pacific. Eighty percent of the approximately 200,000 women were Korean. Others were Japanese, Chinese, Taiwanese, Filipino, Indonesian, and Dutch women captured in occupied areas. At the end of the war, they were abandoned or killed, and those who returned to their homes lived for decades in silence and shame.

In 1998 the Yamaguchi District Court in southern Japan ordered the Japanese government to pay 300,000 yen (U.S.$2,272) to each of three women who had filed suit. Human rights groups cheered this landmark ruling, which in effect admitted government responsibility, but they expressed outrage at the tiny compensation. In 1998 the Historical Museum of Japanese Military Sexual Slavery opened just outside Seoul, South Korea, to educate visitors about Japanese military brothels. That same year the South Korean government paid U.S.$35,000 to each South Korean victim, plus a monthly allowance of about U.S.$400. The Japanese government helped set up a private fund that would give U.S.$17,000 to each victim, but most South Korean women have rejected this offer, saying that it allows the Japanese government to evade responsibility.

In the 1990s, besides the revelations about wartime sexual slavery, former Japanese servicemen who had been haunted by memories of the dreaded past began to speak openly about brutalities they had shrouded in secrecy for decades. They agree with China and North and South Korea that Japan should apologize unambiguously for past acts of aggression. Until it does, and compensates victims of wartime brutalities, they argue, the issues of World War II will not be laid to rest.

Nine days later, on August 6, an American plane, the *Enola Gay*, dropped on the city of Hiroshima the first atom bomb ever used in warfare. Within seconds the bomb unleashed the destructive fury of 20,000 tons of TNT. Hiroshima was demolished. Two days later the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan. The next day the Allies dropped a second atom bomb, this time on the city of Nagasaki. Japan's situation was bleak.

Despite the horrible destruction unleashed by the atom bombs and the further devastation Japan could face in a joint Allied–Soviet invasion of the islands, the Japanese military steadfastly refused to consider surrender.

At this point the emperor decided to step in. Rather than risk the utter destruction of his country, the emperor called an imperial conference to discuss surrender. The power to end the war belonged to a six-man council known as the Supreme Council for the Direction of the War, which consisted of the country's top civilian and military leaders. Twice the Supreme Council voted on the surrender question. Both times the council deadlocked three to three. Finally the emperor stepped in to break the tie. He voted for surrender. The decision was made; the emperor would announce the surrender in a nationwide radio broadcast.

But one problem remained. Although the top military leaders promptly and loyally supported the emperor's decision, many fanatical mid-level officers, outraged to learn the decision, refused to accept defeat. They were convinced that the emperor had been betrayed by evil advisers. They immediately plotted a coup d'état to destroy those "evil advisers" and halt the emperor's broadcast of Japan's surrender. When their own commanding general refused to go along with the plot, they murdered him on the spot. In the end, the coup was stopped by generals close to the emperor who mobilized their own troops to crush the rebellion.

Finally, on August 15, 1945, the word went out. Japan had surrendered; the war was over. People who gathered in the streets to hear the announcement over loudspeakers were stunned. For years they had been told that victory was Japan's destiny, that the Japanese could not lose. But they had lost; the impossible had happened.

Their reactions differed. Some wandered the streets in a daze, not knowing what to do. Some knelt on the ground and wept openly. Others felt relieved, hoping that the war's end would end the suffering and the dying. Still others felt ready to adapt to new conditions. Many waited uneasily for the arrival of the Americans, the enemy they had been taught was a demon, a monster who would rampage through Japan. They prepared themselves for the worst.

Question

What groups in Japan were opposed to surrender, and what was at issue for them?

Extension Activities

1. For many years the Nanjing massacre was a silent issue. Then in the 1990s a number of books and videos were produced: John Rabe, *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1998) recounts Rabe's experiences in trying to save the lives of Chinese residents; James Yin and Shi Young, *The Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs* (Chicago, IL: Innovative Publishing, 1996); Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (Basic Books, 1997); *Magee's Testament*, a documentary video produced by Shao Tzuping, et al.; and *In the Name of the Emperor*, a documentary video produced by Nancy Long. Chang's book was a bestseller that engendered some controversy. One critique is Hata Ikuhiko's "The Nanking Atrocities: Fact and Fable," *Japan Echo 38*: 4 (August 1998): 47–60. Among other things, Hata disputes Chang's numbers and use of photographs. Report on one or more of the books and films. Caution: The contents show extreme brutality.
2. Research and report on an aspect of Japan in World War II: life in Japan; the importance of the Burma Road; or one or more battles like that of Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima, Leyte Gulf, New Guinea, or the Solomon Islands. Time-Life has a series of publications—among them

The Rising Sun; China–Burma–India; Return to the Philippines; The Road to Tōkyō; Japan at War; The Fall of Japan—with excellent photographs on World War II. You may also be interested in Peter Young, ed., *The Marshall Cavendish Illustrated Encyclopedia of World War II*, 12 vol. (New York, NY: Marshall Cavendish, 1985); and Center of Military History, U.S. Army, *The War against Japan* (Washington, D.C.: Brasseys, Inc., 1994); Stan Cohen, *East Wind Rain: A Pictorial History of the Pearl Harbor Attack* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1991).

3. Many of the excerpts used in the role-play activity in this section came from two books: Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York, NY: The New Press, 1992); and Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War* (New York, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995). You may want to read these works in their entirety.
4. By 1900 most of the Pacific Islands had been colonized by Western powers, yet they remained quite isolated from the rest of the world. World War II changed that as islanders bore the onslaught of troops and military machinery from both Japan and the Allies. Report on the impact of the war on islanders, including the disruption, destruction, and suffering they endured. See, for example, Geoffrey M. White's *Remembering the Pacific War* (Honolulu, HI: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i, 1991); Lamont Lindstrom and Geoffrey M. White, *Island Encounters: Black and White Memories of the Pacific War* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian, 1990); and Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom, eds., *The Pacific Theater* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989). You may be interested in viewing *Angels of War*, a film by Andrew Pike, Hank Nelson, and Gavan Daws on the people of Papua New Guinea, whose lives became intertwined with those of the occupying forces during the war.
5. The Signal Corps made a number of propaganda films for the U.S. War Department: *The Battle of China; War Comes to America; Know Your Enemy: Japan*. Propaganda films were also produced in Japan: *Chūkon Nikudan Sanyūshi* (The Faithful Spirits of the Three Soldiers that Became Human Bullets), directed by Negishi Toichirō and others; and *Bujin no Seika: Kuga Shōsa* (The Essence of the Warrior Spirit: Lieutenant-Commander Kuga), directed by Matsuishi Osamu. Analyze the films by asking yourself, "What messages do the filmmakers hope to communicate to their audiences?" Compare the techniques and messages in the films.
6. While the Americans were able to break the Japanese code, as noted in the table "Some Major Battles, 1942–45," the Japanese could not break the U.S. marines' code. The U.S. used Navajos, who communicated by telephone and radio in their native language. Report on the role of the Navajo Code Talkers in the war. To get started, see Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991; William E. Hafford, "The Navajo Code Talkers," *Arizona Highways* 65: 2 (February 1989): 36–45; Bruce Watson, "Navajo Code Talkers: A Few Good Men," *Smithsonian* 24: 5 (August 1993): 34–43; and Adam Jevec and Lee Ann Potter, "The Navajo Code Talkers," *Social Education* 65:5 (September 2001): 262–268.
7. Many books carry photographs of the devastating effects of the atom bombs dropped on Japan. Examples are Gaynor Sekimori, trans., *Hibakusha: Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (Tōkyō: Kosei Publishing Co., 1986); Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atom Bombs, Eisei Ishikawa and David L. Swain, trans.; *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atom Bombings* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1981); Rodney Barker, *The Hiroshima Maidens* (New York, NY: Viking, 1985); and Keith Wheeler, *The Fall of Japan* (Alexandria, VA: Time–Life Books, 1983). Report on several books that interest you. You may also

want to report on John Hersey's novel, *Hiroshima* (New York, NY: Alfred Knopf, 1946), and Eleanor Coerr's *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes* (New York, NY: Putnam, 1977). An excellent film in video format, *Black Rain*, directed by Shohei Imamura, is based on Masuji Ibuse's novel, which follows the experiences of one family victimized by the bomb.

8. Decades after the event, the question remains: Should the United States have dropped the atom bomb? On the fortieth anniversary of the bombing, *The New York Times* published two opposing views. An article by John Connor, supporting President Harry Truman's decision, appeared on August 4, 1985. An article by Gar Alperovitz, opposing the decision, appeared on August 8, 1985. Read and discuss the arguments of the two authors. Among the many books on the subject are Martin Sherwin's *A World Destroyed: The Atom Bomb and the Grand Alliance* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1975); and L. Roleff Tamara's edited book, *The Atom Bomb* (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 2000). Select one or two to report on. You may also want to read the December 1995 issue of the *Journal of American History*, devoted to the proposed exhibit at Washington D.C.'s Smithsonian Museum on the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 that dropped the bomb on Hiroshima. The proposed exhibit engendered such great controversy that it was canceled. You may also want to view an excellent ABC News special, which is on videotape: *Hiroshima: Why the Bomb Was Dropped.*
9. You may be interested in the videos and book listed below. They offer personal experiences of the war. *Grave of the Fireflies*, produced by Central Park Video, follows the lives of two children left orphaned and homeless after their city was fire-bombed. *The Harp of Burma*, directed by Kon Ichikawa, is about a Japanese soldier who rejects war and chooses instead to become a monk. *Twenty-four Eyes*, written and directed by Keisuki Kinoshita, presents a story of a teacher and her students whose lives were interrupted by the war. Tomiko Higa's *The Girl with the White Flag*, Dorothy Britton, trans. (Tōkyō: Kodansha: 1991) recounts the experiences of a young girl of Okinawa who suffered the devastating effects of war on her island.

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3 Chapter

Recovery and the Rise of an Economic Superpower, 1945 to the Present

This chapter focuses on Japan during a period that included wartime defeat, its rise as an economic superpower, and its subsequent struggle to cope with the results of its success.

We begin in Section 1 by looking at Japan after the devastation of World War II. We then examine the American military occupation of Japan, a period of massive political, economic, and social reform.

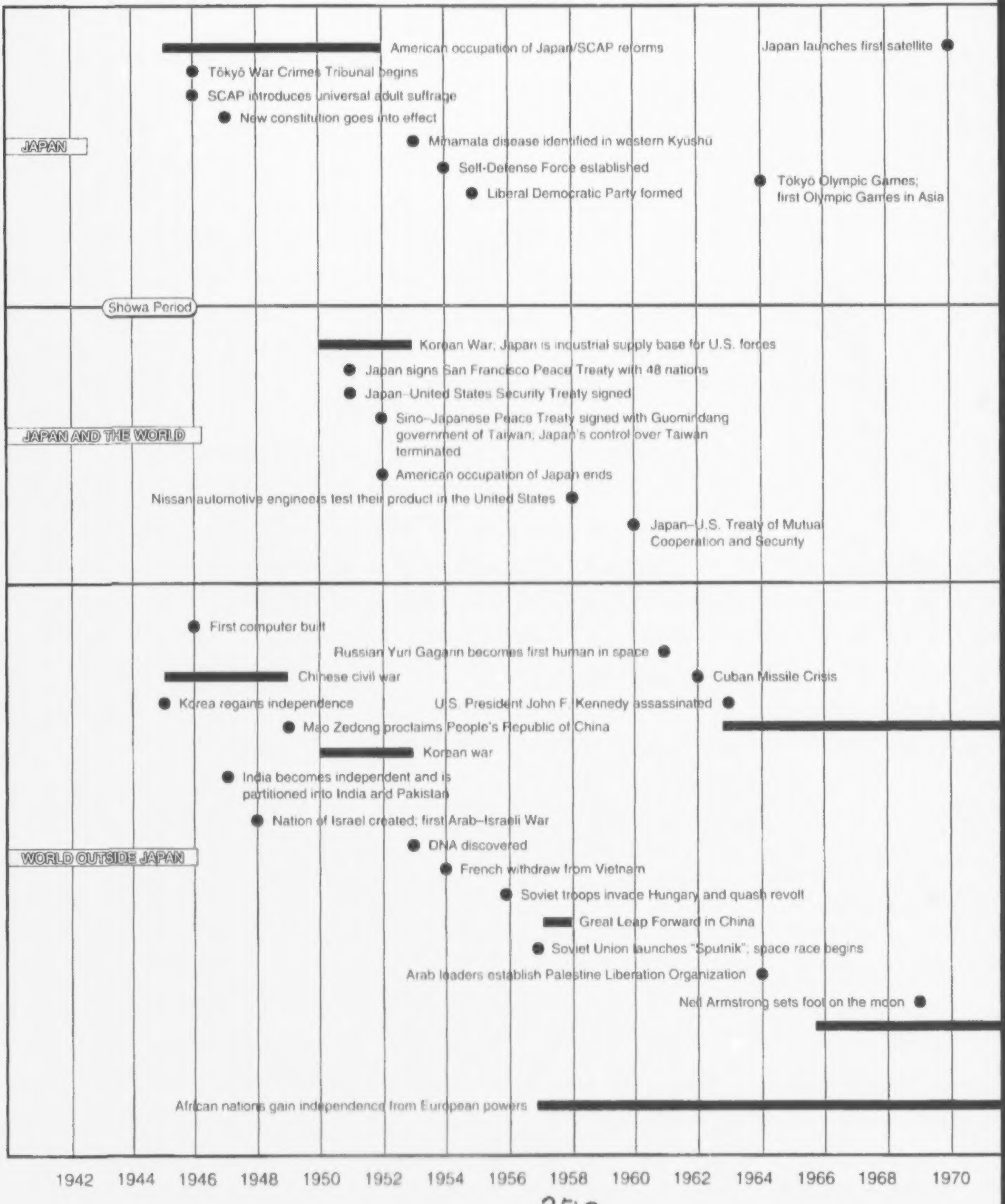
Section 2 takes an in-depth look at Japan's impressive economic recovery and growth in the post-war period. In addition to examining how Japan's stunning economic growth made it an important nation in the international economy, we also explore how changes in the economy affected Japan's workers, families, and society.

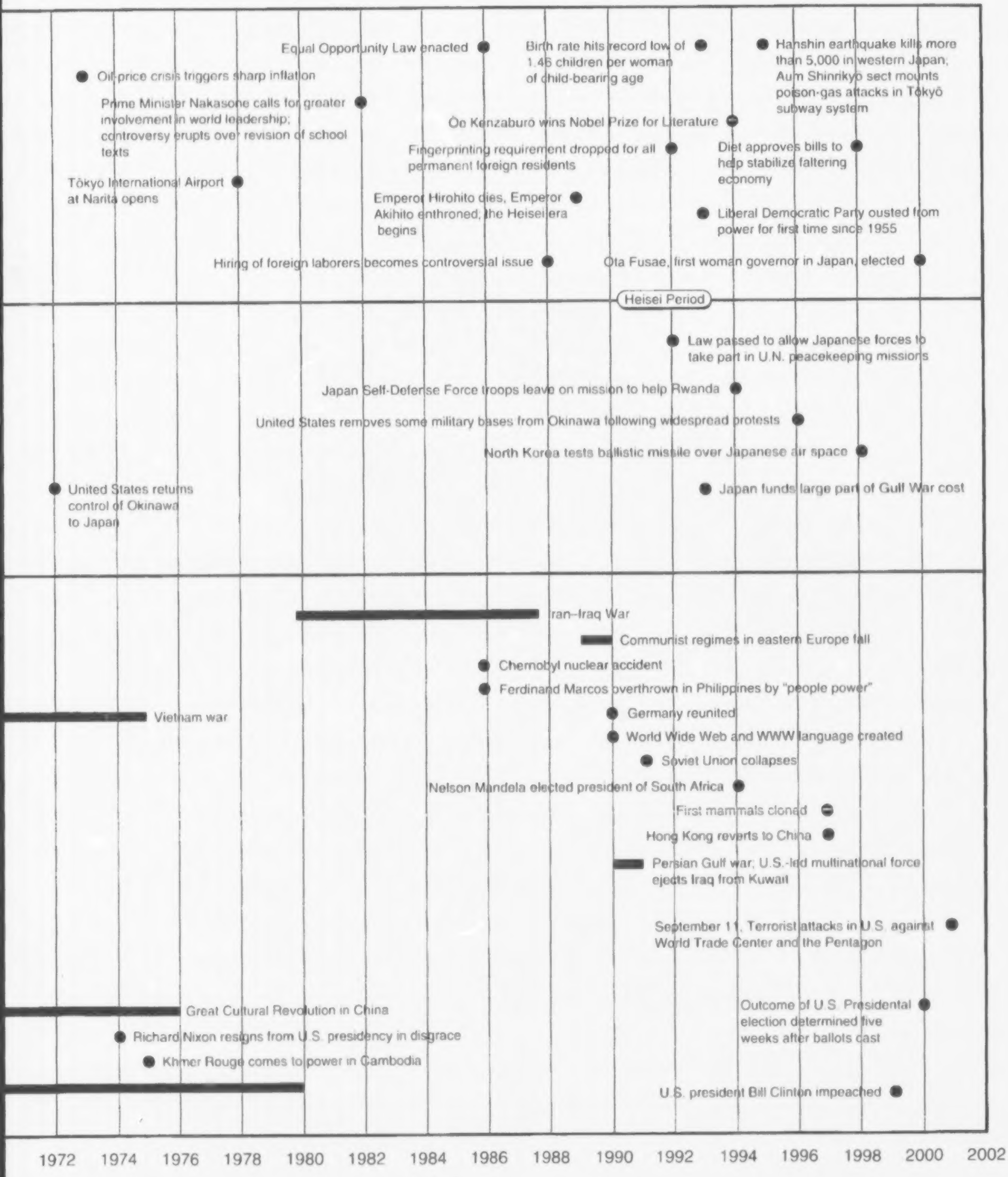
Finally, we look at Japan's relations with other nations. We discuss how Japan's growing international trade led to friction with Europe and the United States. We look at the no war clause—the centerpiece of Japan's 1947 "peace constitution"—and how it affects Japan's participation in international affairs. Next we examine regional tensions and disputes involving Japan and its closest neighbors. The chapter concludes with an overview of "outsider" groups within Japan and the discrimination they face.

Sections

1. The Occupation and Recovery, 1945–1952
2. Economic Growth and Social Change
3. Japan and the World

Recovery and the Rise of an Economic Superpower, 1945 to the Present





Oil-price crisis triggers sharp inflation

Equal Opportunity Law enacted

Prime Minister Nakasone calls for greater involvement in world leadership; controversy erupts over revision of school texts

Tōkyo International Airport at Narita opens

Birth rate hits record low of 1.46 children per woman of child-bearing age

Ōe Kenzaburō wins Nobel Prize for Literature

Fingerprinting requirement dropped for all permanent foreign residents

Emperor Hirohito dies, Emperor Akihito enthroned; the Heisei era begins

Hiring of foreign laborers becomes controversial issue

Hanshin earthquake kills more than 5,000 in western Japan; Aum Shinrikyō sect mounts poison-gas attacks in Tōkyō subway system

Diet approves bills to help stabilize faltering economy

Liberal Democratic Party ousted from power for first time since 1955

Ōta Fusae, first woman governor in Japan, elected

Heisei Period

Law passed to allow Japanese forces to take part in U.N. peacekeeping missions

Japan Self-Defense Force troops leave on mission to help Rwanda

United States removes some military bases from Okinawa following widespread protests

North Korea tests ballistic missile over Japanese air space

United States returns control of Okinawa to Japan

Japan funds large part of Gulf War cost

Iran–Iraq War

Communist regimes in eastern Europe fall

Chernobyl nuclear accident

Ferdinand Marcos overthrown in Philippines by "people power"

Vietnam war

Germany reunited

World Wide Web and WWW language created

Soviet Union collapses

Nelson Mandela elected president of South Africa

First mammals cloned

Hong Kong reverts to China

Persian Gulf war, U.S.-led multinational force ejects Iraq from Kuwait

September 11, Terrorist attacks in U.S. against World Trade Center and the Pentagon

Outcome of U.S. Presidental election determined five weeks after ballots cast

Great Cultural Revolution in China

Richard Nixon resigns from U.S. presidency in disgrace

Khmer Rouge comes to power in Cambodia

U.S. president Bill Clinton impeached

Section 1 The Occupation and Recovery, 1945–1952

The occupation of Japan lasted for six and a half years, during which the United States launched major reforms in most key areas of Japanese society. From September 2, 1945, to April 28, 1952, for the first time in its history, Japan was under the political control of a foreign power. The people of this devastated and humbled nation scrambled to secure daily necessities and struggled to understand how democracy would improve their lives.

The first part of this section focuses on the sweeping political, economic, and social changes imposed by the Americans, along with the day-to-day realities of life endured by the Japanese people under the occupation. The second part of the section explores the abrupt shift in occupation policy known as the "Reverse Course," brought about by international events and more assertive Japanese leadership.

The Occupation of Japan

The occupation began on September 2, 1945, in Tōkyō Bay on the deck of the American battleship USS *Missouri*. The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), General Douglas MacArthur of the United States, presided as representatives of Japan and the Allied Powers signed the surrender document that formally ended the war.

Japanese foreign minister Shigemitsu Mamoru and Lt. Gen. Umezu Yoshijirō were assigned the bitter task of signing on behalf of the defeated Empire of Japan. The finality of Japan's defeat hit home with Shigemitsu as hundreds of B-29 bombers and Navy fighter planes roared overhead to celebrate the Allies' victory. After signing the papers, a visibly moved MacArthur intoned, "Today the guns are silent. A great tragedy has ended. . . ."[1]

Perhaps it was fitting that the war officially ended in the same waters where Commodore Matthew Perry ended Japan's self-imposed isolation in 1853. Both events ushered in eras of massive foreign influence. Following the Meiji Restoration, Japan began a feverish effort to "enrich the nation and strengthen the army," adopting Western science and technology to defend itself against foreign intervention. During the occupation, the Japanese people struggled to rebuild their war-scarred nation under the watchful eyes of American officials who were imposing sweeping reforms. But most Japanese were preoccupied with their own needs for food and shelter.

As MacArthur and the occupation forces prepared to take charge in Japan, the Japanese feared that the victorious Americans would be brutal and destructive. Having struggled against foreign interference ever since the Meiji period, the Japanese people now grew apprehensive about life under American rule. The Americans, for their part, were wary of the Japanese, worrying that the civilian population might rise up with the same fight-to-the-death spirit demonstrated by many Japanese soldiers in the Pacific in the final months of the war. Just how would the Japanese and their American counterparts—bitter enemies in war—live and work together in peace?

Their fears proved groundless. The Japanese were relieved to find that the American occupiers would not treat them brutally. They in turn mostly accepted the Americans' attempts to undertake massive reforms in government and the economy. In truth, the Japanese had little choice. They had lost the war, and their country lay in ruins. But now that ultranationalism and militarism had led the Japanese empire to a humiliating defeat, the people were more willing to accept such ideals as democracy and pacifism imposed by the Americans.

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[1] *Fifty Years of Light and Dark: The Hirohito Era*, ed. by Hiroshi Fujimoro. Tōkyō: The Mainichi Newspapers, 1975, p. 222.

Japanese foreign minister Mamoru Shigemitsu signs the surrender document on the deck of the USS Missouri *as General Douglas MacArthur looks on. Courtesy of Carl Mydens/TimePix, New York.*

During the occupation, MacArthur was the towering symbol of American authority. On paper, the Allied nations shared responsibility for demobilizing Japan. Officially, MacArthur as Supreme Commander took orders from the U.S. government to implement reform and reconstruction. But in reality he held enormous power and exercised immense independence. He sometimes objected to orders coming from Washington or even tried to sabotage them. The flamboyant general was either loved or hated for his majestic presence, theatric gestures, and bold statements.

The occupation's three main goals were to democratize and demilitarize Japan and to revive its economy. SCAP moved quickly to break up Japan's war machine and to reform its politics, its economy, and its society.

Perhaps MacArthur's most important move at the beginning was his decision to retain the emperor as a symbol. The emperor served Japan as the ultimate rallying point for its people, and political leaders used his image and aura as the unifying emblem of the empire. But the American public still harbored the bitterness aroused by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. Most Americans regarded the emperor as a war criminal who should be imprisoned or even executed to bear responsibility for presiding over Japan during the war. Great Britain and Australia were also adamant in calling for the emperor to be prosecuted for his role in Japan's wartime misconduct. But MacArthur, who understood the emperor's traditional symbolic role through much of Japan's history, decided to retain and use the imperial throne to help SCAP transform Japan into a peaceful constitutional monarchy. In Article 1 of the new Japanese constitution promulgated in 1947, the emperor's role was reduced to that of a ceremonial "symbol of the State and of the unity of the people." Japanese citizens were empowered as the ultimate political authority. MacArthur was strongly influenced by reports of the reverence in which ordinary Japanese held the emperor. MacArthur defended his retention of the emperor by warning that the Japanese people might react violently if charges were brought against the figure whom they considered sacred. MacArthur's decision probably helped the occupation go more smoothly than it otherwise might have.

The American armed forces moved quickly to eliminate Japan's war-making capacity, demobilizing and disarming both the Imperial army and the navy. American forces destroyed what was left of Japan's weapons, fighter planes, and poison gas factories.

The Allied nations stripped Japan of all its colonies, including Korea, Formosa (Taiwan),

Tōkyō War Crimes Tribunal

The Allied Powers created the International Military Tribunal for the Far East to try Japan's wartime leaders for conspiracy to wage war and "crimes against peace" and "crimes against humanity." Tōjō Hideki, Japan's prime minister at the beginning of the war, headed a list of twenty-eight Class A defendants, including prime ministers, foreign ministers, army generals, and navy admirals. As Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, General MacArthur vetoed demands by Great Britain to try the emperor Hirohito as a Class A war criminal.

The trial began on May 3, 1946, but the eleven justices representing the Allied nations did not hand down their verdicts until November 1948. Tōjō and six others they sentenced to death by hanging, sixteen others were sent to prison for life, and wartime foreign minister Tōgō Shigenori was given twenty years in prison. Two defendants died during the trials and another went insane.

The tribunal also tried about twenty high-ranking officers as Class B criminals for wartime atrocities. All won acquittal. Military commissions tried about six thousand lower-ranking officials as Class C criminals for crimes against humanity, including mistreatment of prisoners of war. The commissions sentenced most to prison, but over 900 individuals were convicted and executed.

Although the Tōkyō trial was modeled after the Nuremberg Tribunal (the trial of war criminals from Nazi Germany), experts criticized it on legal grounds. All nine justices represented the nations victorious in the war; none came from neutral nations. A few of the judges were either extremely biased or even legally unqualified to serve.

At the end of the trial, the judges issued separate opinions wildly at odds with one another. The Australian judge, the president of the Tribunal, still wanted to try Emperor Hirohito for war crimes. The Filipino judge charged that the sentences were far too lenient. The French, Dutch, and Indian judges, however, pointed out procedural and historical flaws in the trial, and each found some or all of the defendants innocent.

At the Class B and C war crimes trial, a former prisoner of war identifies a Japanese soldier who beat him in a Japanese prison camp. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

The prosecutors in the Tōkyō trial tried to prove a conspiracy among the top defendants to pursue a war of aggression in violation of international law. Most legal experts later concluded that the charges were not based on sound legal precedent. At the time of the trials, for example, "crimes against peace" and "crimes against humanity" were not established concepts of international law. In the end, however, the Allies and most of the war-weary Japanese public willingly assigned most of the blame to Japan's leaders and let them serve as scapegoats for Japan's wartime conduct.

The convicted war criminals still imprisoned at the time of the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty were paroled and later released unconditionally. Some reentered politics, business, or other fields after their release, and a few rose to prominence again. Kishi Nobusuke, for example, was elected to the Diet and later became prime minister (1957–1960) and one of the most influential politicians of his era.

Emperor Hirohito visited General Douglas MacArthur at the U.S. Embassy in Tōkyō on September 27, 1945. The photo captures the contrast between the lofty, casual MacArthur and the diminutive, formal emperor. Courtesy of AP/Wide World Photos, New York.

Manchuria, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. Okinawa was put under American administration.

The Allied nations also convened an International Military Tribunal for the Far East to try twenty-eight of Japan's wartime leaders on charges of "crimes against peace" and "crimes against humanity." SCAP officials also removed 200,000 people from positions of public or official responsibility for their wartime activities.

Questions

1. What were the main concerns of the Japanese people during the occupation?
2. What were the main priorities of the Americans?

Democratization

SCAP put high priority on advancing democracy throughout Japan. The Americans believed that instilling democratic principles and practices would wipe out Japanese ultranationalism.

The 1947 Constitution was key to SCAP's democratizing efforts. The document curtailed the power of the emperor, transforming him into a mere symbol of the state and making him responsible to the people. It placed political power in the hands of the people by making the Diet—now the highest institution of government—directly responsible to voters. It also guaranteed individual liberties, workers' rights, and the equality of males and females.

The Constitution was not the only means occupation officials used to spread democratic principles and practices. MacArthur and his SCAP officials issued orders or pressured the Japanese government to democratize the country. The Americans decentralized the government and took measures to reduce the power of the police force, which had intimidated the populace through the war years. SCAP authorities released all political prisoners, including socialists and Communists, and encouraged them to revive political parties. In 1946 the Americans instituted universal adult suffrage, extending voting rights to all men and women twenty and older. Introducing the American constitutional principle of separation of church and state, SCAP ended formal government support and promotion of State Shintoism. It forbade teaching Shintō rites and doctrines in the schools because such teaching was believed to imbue children with blind loyalty to the emperor and to militarism.

Question

List examples of how occupation officials tried to promote democracy in Japan.

Activity: Comparing the Meiji and 1947 Constitutions

The new Japanese constitution, written by SCAP officials, went into effect in May 1947. Occupation officials had at first directed the Japanese to write their own new constitution but eventually rejected their drafts, which preserved the traditional supreme power of the emperor. The Americans then wrote Japan's new constitution themselves—in one week.

Read the selected articles from the 1889 Meiji Constitution and the 1947 Constitution listed below. Then fill in the chart your teacher gives you. Answer the questions by filling in each box, briefly summarizing the articles in your own words.

Meiji Constitution (1889)

Article III.

The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article VI.

The Emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

Article VIII.

The Emperor . . . to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities, issues . . . Imperial Ordinances in the place of law. . . .

Article XI.

The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.

Article XIII.

The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

Article XXIII.

No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law.

Article XXIV.

No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by the judges determined by law.

Article XXV.

Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent.

Article XXVII.

The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate. . . .

Article XXVIII.

Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

Article XXIX.

Japanese subjects shall within the limits of law enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings, and associations.

From "The Constitution of the Empire of Japan, February 11, 1889," in *Meiji Japan Through Contemporary Sources*. Tōkyō: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 95–104.

1947 Constitution

Article 1.

The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.

Article 41.

The Diet shall be the highest organ of state power, and shall be the sole law-making organ of the State.

Article 73.

The Cabinet . . . shall perform the following functions: . . .

Manage foreign affairs.
Conclude treaties. However, it shall obtain . . . approval of the Diet.
Article 11.
The people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights. . . .
Article 13.
All of the people shall be respected as individuals. Their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness shall, to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare, be the supreme consideration. . . .
Article 14.
All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin. . . .
Article 15.
The people have the inalienable right to choose their public officials and to dismiss them. . . . Universal adult suffrage is guaranteed with regard to the election of public officials. . . .
Article 19.
Freedom of thought and conscience shall not be violated.
Article 20.
Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. . . .
Article 21.
Freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press and all other forms of expression are guaranteed. . . .
Article 24.
. . . [L]aws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes.
Article 29.
The right to own or to hold property is inviolable. . . .
Article 31.
No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, nor shall any other criminal penalty be imposed, except according to procedure established by law.
Article 33.
No person shall be apprehended except upon warrant. . . .
Article 34.
No person shall be arrested or detained without being at once informed of the charges against him or without the immediate privilege of counsel. . . .
Article 37.
In all criminal cases the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial tribunal. . . .

From Hanover Historical Texts Project, http://hanover.edu.html

A traditional kami shibai *being performed for children. Courtesy of Center for Japanese Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Hawai'i.*

Activity: A *Kami Shibai* on the New Constitution

A *kami shibai*, or "paper play," is a storytelling form that was popular in Japan before the advent of television. Traveling salesmen, often candy sellers, would use series of picture cards in a small frame mounted on a bicycle and tell stories to the children who gathered around them.

During the occupation, government officials used this familiar dramatic form to teach the people about democracy and the 1947 Constitution. In fact, both American SCAP officials and the government devised many ways to educate citizens about how everyday life would change under the new constitution. They produced posters, pamphlets, radio broadcasts, and even comic books for the same purpose.

新憲法
施行記念
紙芝居
憲法普及会
東京都支部

The Japanese government's "constitution dissemination committee" members performed kami shibai *to educate the public about the changes to take place under the 1947 Constitution. The banner and sign proclaim "the commemoration of the new constitution taking effect." From Asahi Shimbunsha, Tōkyō.*

Creating a *Kami Shibai*

You have been assigned to create a *kami shibai* on the 1947 Constitution. It is your job to educate people on how it will affect them.

Preparation

1. Review the articles of the 1947 Constitution listed in this section. You may also want to review what you wrote in Handout A about the new constitution.
2. Form groups of four.
3. Decide together what articles of the new constitution your group wants to illustrate and explain. Choose at least two articles; do not choose more than four articles. Each person will be responsible for illustrating one panel of your *kami shibai* and writing the script about it on the back of the panel.
4. Work together to create a character for your *kami shibai*. Then write a story explaining how your character's life will be affected by the articles of the constitution you have chosen to illustrate and explain.
5. Make your *kami shibai* simple and easy for your audience to understand.
6. Limit your *kami shibai* to four cards or panels.
7. Draw your picture cards and write the script on the back.
8. Rehearse your *kami shibai*.
9. Perform your *kami shibai* for the class.

Evaluation

As they watch each *kami shibai*, audience members should take notes on what they see so that they can make useful comments after the performances. Use the following questions and criteria to evaluate the effectiveness of each performance:

1. What specific constitutional changes did the *kami shibai* depict?
2. Did the performance clearly and effectively depict those changes?
3. State what you liked best about each *kami shibai*.
4. Offer the storyteller constructive suggestions if you think a particular *kami shibai* could be improved.

Debriefing

The entire class should discuss the following questions:

1. Do you think that *kami shibai* was an effective means of educating people about the new constitution? Why or why not?
2. What are some other ways you could have used to educate people about the constitution and its impact in 1947?
3. If you were organizing a public education campaign in your community today, what medium of communication would you use? Why?

The 1947 Constitution

The most important difference between the 1889 Meiji Constitution and the 1947 Constitution lay in the relative power of the emperor and the people. When Japanese authors were told to draft a new constitution, they had tried to protect the "emperor system" established by the Meiji Constitution, which gave supreme political power to the emperor. The Americans rejected the Japanese drafts as undemocratic. Within a span of about a week, a small group of SCAP staff members drafted a new constitution in English and had it translated into Japanese. The new constitution gave ultimate sovereignty to the Japanese people. The emperor would no longer be the supreme source of authority; instead, he would serve only as a symbol of the State. Under this constitution, the emperor held no real political power; his only roles were ceremonial.

Other changes reflected the Americans' determination to instill democracy, individual liberty, and equality in the Japanese people. The Diet, which under the Meiji Constitution had been weak, became the most powerful part of the government, at least on paper. The 1947 Constitution also established an independent judiciary and stronger self-government at the local level. The postwar constitution guaranteed all Japanese citizens basic human rights and established such principles as freedom of speech and of the press. In another dramatic change, the Constitution allocated equal rights to men and women.

The centerpiece of the new constitution was Article 9. In it Japan renounced war forever as a means of settling international disputes and gave up the right to maintain a national military force.

Of the high ideals expressed in the 1947 Constitution, some were easy to put on paper but difficult to carry out in reality. For example, although the Diet held the most power according to the new constitution, the highly esteemed, elite civil bureaucracy continued to wield enormous power behind the scenes. And the promise of legal equality between men and women did not change social attitudes overnight. Few women enjoyed genuine equal treatment. Another apparent contradiction arose with the constitution's "no-war clause." Although Article 9 seemed to renounce military might, in 1950 Japan yielded to American pressure to form an armed contingent that grew into sizable, well-equipped "Self-Defense Forces." (See Chapter 3, Section 3.)

Japanese society sometimes fell short of the new constitutional ideals, but the 1947 Constitution was by no means a failure. Throughout history, the gap between reality and the ideals stated in a constitution has been common. The Meiji Constitution, for instance, allowed Japanese officials to issue regulations in the name of "peace preservation" to squelch dissent against the government. So parts of the Meiji Constitution that appeared to grant Imperial subjects the rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and religion actually were severely restricted by "the limits of law." The postwar constitution allowed Japan to become more democratic and extended more individual rights and liberties to the Japanese people than the Meiji Constitution did.

Because the memories of wartime and postwar hardships were still fresh in Japanese minds, most of them accepted, even celebrated, the ideals of democracy and peace. Others, not surprisingly, were at first wary or uninterested. The constitution's wording sounded foreign, even in Japanese. More important, most people still were preoccupied with subsistence in the hard years following the war and simply had little time, interest, or energy to debate abstract ideas. But as time passed, the people embraced the rights and ideals of the 1947 Constitution as their own. The strongest evidence of this support was public opinion, which consistently opposed proposals to revise the constitution. The proportion of people opposed to revising it actually increased from the 1960s through the 1980s.

Activity: Before and After

Look at the "before and after" posters reproduced here. They were designed by American occupation officials to show how the 1947 Constitution would reform Japanese law and society.

Refer to articles of the 1947 Constitution listed below. Then, on a sheet of paper, explain which poster refers to which article. Finally, for each set of posters, explain what life was like before the new constitution and how it would change after the article went into effect.

Article 14.
All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin.

Peers and peerage shall not be recognized. . . .

Article 15.
The people have the inalienable right to choose their public officials and to dismiss them.

All public officials are servants of the whole community and not of any group thereof.

Universal adult suffrage is guaranteed with regard to the election of public officials. . . .

Article 24.
Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual co-operation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis.

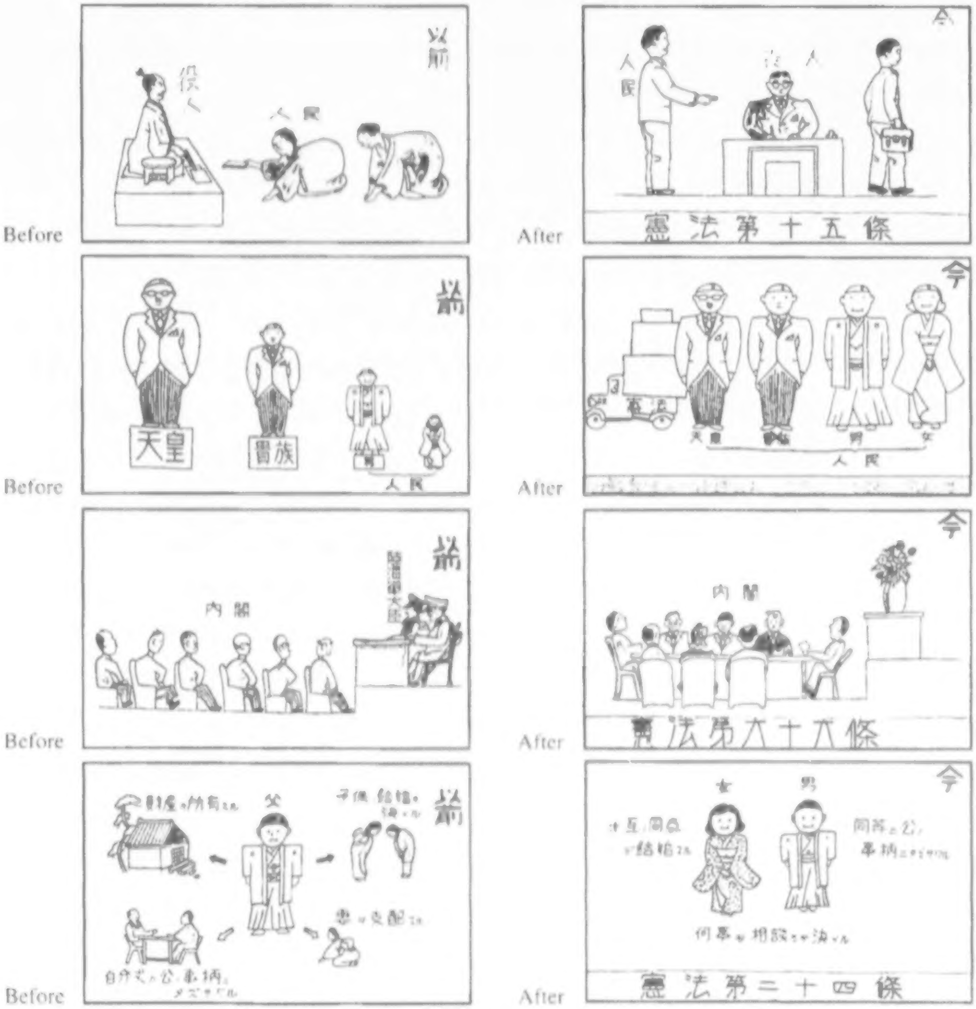
With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes.

Article 66.
The Cabinet shall consist of the Prime Minister, who shall be its head, and other Ministers of State. . . .

The Prime Minister and other Ministers of State must be civilians.

The Cabinet . . . shall be collectively responsible to the Diet.

“Before and After” Constitution Posters.


Before
以前
役人
人民
After
今
人民
役人
憲法第十五條
Before
以前
天皇
貴族
人民
After
今
天皇
貴族
男
女
人民
Before
以前
内閣
陸海軍大臣
After
今
内閣
憲法第六十六條
Before
以前
父
After
今
女
男
憲法第二十四條

Courtesy of National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Economic Recovery and Reform

American occupation officials realized that the Japanese economy was their most daunting challenge. SCAP personnel discovered that they need not fear violent outbursts ignited by lingering wartime hostility. What gave them grave concern were the millions of Japanese on the brink of severe malnutrition and even starvation who might lash out because of hunger. The Americans also feared that desperate Japanese might embrace Communism and fall under the influence of the Soviet Union.

By far the most successful change implemented by SCAP was a land reform program. To divide wealth more equally, the government bought land from large landowners and sold it to tenant farmers. The new small landowners were allowed to pay off their purchase over thirty years at low interest. Even the most impoverished tenants could purchase their share of land.

SCAP also attempted to dismantle the *zaibatsu*, the giant business conglomerates that dominated the Japanese economy through the war. Once the occupation authorities concluded that the *zaibatsu* had supported wartime militarism, they moved forcefully to dissolve them and to pass laws to prevent their reemergence. Divisions of giant firms such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi were forced to break up into separate companies. But these reforms proved short-lived. Toward the end of the occupation, American officials decided that economic and industrial health was vital to Japan's long-term future and to warding off the advance of Communism in East Asia. After the occupation ended, some of the old-line *zaibatsu* emerged stronger than ever, along with giant new combines, many of which had profited from war-related production.

To strengthen democracy and help distribute wealth more equitably, the occupation administration encouraged Japanese workers to set up their own unions. It also pushed the government to pass laws guaranteeing workers the right to organize, to engage in collective bargaining with their employers, and to strike. Another law set standards for working hours, working conditions, vacation and sick leave, and safeguards for women and child workers.

SCAP released all political prisoners, including Communist activists, who promptly began to revive the Communist party. It was granted legal status for the first time in its history. Communists were active in the labor movement and began organizing strikes to spread their message among workers and the general public. For many Japanese struggling desperately to feed their families, the Communists' rhetoric became cause for hope. In the early 1950s, however, a few violent terrorist acts by Communist extremists damaged their public image.

Question

Which occupation economic reform had most success?

Everyday Life Under the Occupation

The immediate postwar period was bitter for the Japanese people. Most of their major cities had been devastated by American air raids. Hiroshima and Nagasaki lay prostrate after atomic bombs leveled them. Transportation and communication systems were crippled. Industry and food production plummeted to shockingly low levels. To make matters worse, Japan could not import food from its former colonies.

The people's main enemies now became hunger and inflation. Their day-to-day burden was

Orphan shoe-shine boys sleeping in the Nagoya City train station, August 1947. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

scrounging for food and sorting through the ruins of their homes. Many Japanese bought food and other basic necessities on the black market—illegal after the authorities placed price controls and rations on all major foodstuffs, but certainly better than hunger or possibly starvation. Even when people found what they needed, they had to contend with inflation. To cope, the government pumped more and more paper money into the economy, but this process only fed into the dizzying upward spiral of prices that led to desperation and despair. At a time when some regular workers made one to two yen a day, a small rice ball cost ten yen and a single bun would sell for a whopping fifteen yen.[2]

The government and military, once revered, or at least feared, were now held in contempt. The Allies had obliterated the myth of Japanese invincibility. Except for the emperor, public opinion in Japan turned on those most closely associated with the ultranationalism and militarism that had brought the nation to its humiliating defeat. Immediately after the war, the once all-powerful government gained a new image, one grounded in accounts of its incompetence and corruption. Instead of providing relief for the people, officials funneled enormous amounts of money and surplus military supplies to big business firms. Selfish former military officials proved to be more dedicated to themselves than to the emperor, selling food and supplies to the black market for personal gain. So while the common people suffered, many of the elite found ways to prosper.

The following accounts provide a glimpse of what everyday life was like for ordinary Japanese after the war—for laborers, housewives, returning soldiers, and schoolchildren.

A Laborer Cries Out for Help

This letter was printed in the Ōsaka edition of the *Asahi Shimbun* on November 7, 1945.

I am a mere common laborer. I write this now standing at the dividing point between life and death. My mind has become empty. There is only resentment toward our incompetent government. With five children, I worked hard and even managed to meet the responsibility of saving a little in these hard times, but the government's incompetence regarding food supplies kept getting worse and finally I became unable to work even half the month. I felt sorry for the children, though, and thinking that even our children may be useful for the country in the future, I fed them by buying food on the black market. That couldn't go on forever, however, and we reached our limit. In the end, I even borrowed money at high interest to get food, but I can no longer do this and so we have not eaten for four whole days. My wife collapsed yesterday, and two of the children are losing spirit. The government just talks and does nothing. I understand that high officials are filling their stomachs, but there is nothing we can do. On the other hand, evil merchants involved in the black market—there are two or three of them in this neighborhood alone—make what amounts to 50,000 or 60,000 yen a year.

At last, I have resolved to commit suicide. I am going to die, reproaching the incompetent, merciless government. Indirectly, I've asked neighbors and the head of the neighborhood association to look after my wife and children. Please give us enough food so that we can work, even thin rice gruel. Uneducated people like us cannot understand difficult theories, but I feel there must be enough rice and wheat. Look, if you have the money, five or ten bushels of rice and wheat can be obtained instantly. It's not that there isn't any. High officials—get rid of your indifference and willingness to let others suffer for years, and show some human heart! Now, for the first time, I realize that Japan does indeed qualify as a fourth-rate country. Without really good policies, it can sink to a fifth- or sixth-rate country. When this letter reaches you, I may already be dead. I have written this gathering up all the spirit I have left.

From John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Co., 1999, pp. 97–98.

Questions

1. Why was the writer so angry with the "incompetent government"?
2. How did the writer feel about buying food on the black market?

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[2] *Fifty Years of Light and Dark: The Hirohito Era*, p. 213

Housewives and children wait in line for tofu to be distributed, 1947. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

A Housewife Struggles to Make Ends Meet

The following letter from a housewife in Yamanashi Prefecture (central Honshū) was printed in the November 2, 1945, issue of the *Asahi Shimbun*.

With two children, one 11 and the other 8, ours is a family of four. My husband is working for the city office. For us, it's a forbidden spiritual luxury to think about our future. We are so preoccupied with the daily life; our only concern is how to survive today—and hopefully tomorrow.

We consume 10 days' ration of food in five days, supplementing the deficiency with costly food sold in the black market. People say we should also go and see the farmers in Chiba[3] and buy agricultural products from them. They say even if we pay the train fare to Chiba, it more than pays off. But the trouble is we have no extra hand who can travel. We cannot afford the train ticket in the first place.

We have no other choice but to go and find food in the black market. We have to eat somehow. My husband's monthly salary is ¥200, while our livelihood costs are about ¥600. To make both ends meet, we sell everything we can. I know we cannot get along much longer this way.

From *Fifty Years of Light and Dark: The Hirohito Era*. Tōkyō: The Mainichi Newspapers, 1975, p. 211.

Questions

1. What are the three ways the housewife and her family can get food? Are some ways more desirable or possible than others?
2. How does the family make ends meet?

Demobilization

One of the major challenges for SCAP was to demobilize—release soldiers from military service—five million Japanese soldiers at home and abroad, and to repatriate or return over four million civilians to their home countries.

The sudden confusion, despair, and even betrayal felt by those in the military cannot be underestimated. Japanese military history celebrated death in battle as virtuous, and Japanese soldiers were taught that forfeiting one's life for the emperor was the ultimate honor. The Japanese people were also imbued with unquestioning loyalty to the emperor. (Review "The Sailor's Mother" in Chapter 2, Section 2.) So the announcement of Japan's surrender—read aloud by the emperor himself, whose voice the people had never before heard—must have turned the average soldier's world upside down, as the soldier whose story is excerpted below describes.

Disillusioned Soldier

I was in Shibushi, Kagoshima Prefecture, at the time of the defeat. I thought of committing suicide but was unable to go through with it. "I'll be reborn seven times and attack America," I vowed. With this, I permitted myself to continue living.

---

[3] City and prefecture on a peninsula separating Tōkyō Bay from the Pacific

For two years I had thought of nothing but "dying for the Emperor." When I entered the military, I said in my farewell greeting to those who saw me off, "I will die for my country." Since then, I had no thoughts of my parents or my siblings. I applied to be sent to the front as soon as possible, but I was sent to Shibushi. When the surrender was announced, I was still alive.

Feeling ashamed about returning home, I took the last train of the day. When it arrived at the station, I walked through the wicket [the exit gate] in the dark. Suddenly I heard a voice call out my name, "Hideo! Hideo!" It gave me a start. It was my father who appeared before me from the darkness. "I'm so glad you're home, so glad you've come home." He wept as he said this to me.

It was after eleven o'clock at night. I couldn't figure out how my father had known to meet me at the station. When I asked him, he replied that since 15 August, for three months, he and my mother had taken turns meeting all the trains as they arrived at the station. They had done this for three entire months.

I was speechless. I had never experienced my parents' love as strongly as I did at that moment.

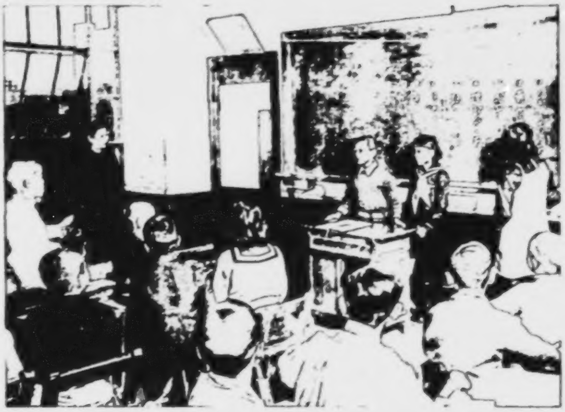
To think that I had contemplated suicide. How undutiful that was toward my parents. For the two years of my absence my mother had not neglected to set a tray for me at each meal. She had gone to the shrine four kilometers away every day to pray for my safe return.

The Emperor was not a real god. The War was an invasion. To me the Imperial Army had seemed a divinely inspired force. But its actions resulted in tragedy. I pledged in my heart never again to sing "Kimigayo," the national anthem.

From Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*, translated by Beth Cary. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 273–74.

Questions

1. What was the soldier's highest ambition during the war? Why did he not think of his parents or siblings?
2. Why did he feel ashamed to come home?
3. Why did he pledge to never again sing the national anthem "Kimi ga Yo"?



One of SCAP's educational reforms was coeducational schooling. Boys and girls in this Tōkyō junior high school are electing classroom leaders in 1948. The writing on the blackboard lists qualities that classroom leaders should have, such as diligence, responsibleness, leadership, and trustworthiness. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

Going to School in a Defeated Nation

After the war, occupation officials overhauled Japan's school system. The Americans were convinced that the government had used the schools to indoctrinate children with the belief that it was their duty not only to pay deference to the emperor but also to support without question the nation's overseas expansion. SCAP therefore reformed the school system after an American model to teach democratic values. American reformers pressed teachers and school officials to stop teaching about emperor worship, imperialism, and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and to start teaching the values of democracy, constitutional government, and the rights of the individual. Teachers had students blacken out nationalistic references in their textbooks, and occupation officials had new textbooks written under U.S. supervision.

The years of schooling were rearranged so that students would spend six years in elementary school, three years in junior high school, three years in senior high school, and for some, four years at the university. (Before the war, students spent six, five, three, and three years at these levels.) To make higher education more attainable, SCAP helped the government establish universities in every prefecture. The Americans also directed education officials to give female students an equal chance at all levels. School enrollments shot up, but students often had to cope with war-scarred buildings, substandard textbooks, and teachers who themselves were struggling with the new ideas introduced by the Americans.

While the Americans forced the Japanese educators to delete all references to the emperor system and militarism, they could not quickly change how people thought and felt. Read the following accounts of a teacher and a student.

Educational Reform Under the Occupation

Shortly after noon on 15 August [immediately after the emperor's radio address announcing Japan's decision to surrender] I stood dazed, leaning against the stage used for morning assemblies in the school playground. It was quiet. The noisy bombings had ended. I was overwhelmingly happy that the fear of air raids had disappeared. Yet I was apprehensive about what attacks would come after the surrender . . . . I was concerned that we might be ordered to "stop teaching Japanese and teach English."

The notification from the Occupation forces arrived. It stated, "Ink out the following parts in Japanese language, Japanese history, and geography textbooks so that they cannot be read." We were to strike out all of those parts that we had particularly emphasized in our lessons in order to teach our pupils to honor the state in our belief in victory. I felt angry and wretched. But there was no way I could resist. The fifth-graders were actually having a great time inking out their textbooks. How was I to explain the reason for this to the students? Looking at the innocent children my spirits sank.

The Japanese language was not taken away from us. But with the announcement that the Occupation forces were coming to inspect us, we decided to burn all the valuable historic photographs, rare books, and documents depicting the Ise Shrine that we had in our teachers' room and library. . . .

I wondered what was to become of education in the future. We all stood wordless, our faces downcast.

From Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*, translated by Beth Cary. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 278–79.

Questions

1. Why was the teacher apprehensive after Japan surrendered?
2. Why do you suppose the teacher and her students reacted so differently to the occupation's orders to ink out parts of the textbooks?

A Japanese Student Wonders Whom She Should Respect

In 1946 I entered first grade in Niigata, where we had evacuated. I was among the first class to enter school after the War's end. One day the teacher passed out some paper and told us, "Write down the person you most respect." I wanted to write down the Emperor, but I thought that I shouldn't write that. So I wrote down General MacArthur. . . .

Why had I, at the age of six or seven, wanted to write down the Emperor? And why had I misrepresented that feeling and written down MacArthur?

From Frank Gibney, ed., *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*, translated by Beth Cary. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 279–80.

Question

Why do you suppose the student wrote MacArthur's name instead of the emperor's?

Americanization

Although the Americans intended for democratization to reform Japanese politics and society, many average citizens were more attracted by the material wealth displayed by the occupying forces. In impoverished postwar Japan, ordinary consumer goods like cigarettes, cosmetics, and candy were luxuries that signified America's wealth and power. This massive wave of Americanization touched many aspects of Japanese life; it also swept aside or drove underground the fervent displays of militarism and nationalism whose credibility Japan's disastrous war had dashed.

While they longed for luxuries, Japanese were constantly reminded of their subservient role in the occupied nation. One saying that arose during the occupation period went "Women become *panpan* (prostitutes), men become carriers for the black market."[4] The quip exaggerated, of course. Still, many Japanese felt they had little choice but to engage in activities that were illegal yet urgent. Such daily humiliations intensified Japan's image of itself as a defeated nation—as if the ruin around them was not a visible enough reminder. The *panpan* was the most striking and painful reminder of the American occupation. At a time when most women still wore the drab pantaloons[5] of the war period, the prostitutes dazzled with lipstick, nylon hose, and bright, stylish clothes. They could afford to indulge in good food and alcohol or to puff a cigarette between their painted lips. A prostitute on the arm of an American G.I. became a common sight, one that deeply wounded the pride of many Japanese.[6]

But some American innovations generally changed postwar life for the better. SCAP encouraged workers to form labor unions until massive strident demonstrations by union members, students, and other activists against the Japanese government led MacArthur to clamp down on them. Occupation officials raised the legal status of women in society. By law, husband and wife became equal in marriage. Wives were legally entitled to own property without the consent of their husbands. Moreover, in April 1946, women were finally given the right to vote. In the first election in which women could vote and run for elective office, 67 percent of eligible women—more than thirteen million—turned out to vote, and thirty-nine women won seats in the 466-member House of Representatives.

Innovations patterned after the American lifestyle also changed Japanese society. New fashions replaced the ordinary, functional clothes women had worn during the war. As rice rations dwindled, breadmaking increased. An Ōsaka company marketed the "Home Baker," a crude wooden box with metal sheets powered by electricity.[7]

The depth of Americanization became clear as impressionable children mimicked the behavior of adults and quickly picked up survival skills. Those fortunate enough to attend schools helped blacken out references in their textbooks to emperor worship and the glory of the Japanese empire. They quickly discarded nationalist rhetoric and learned to mouth allegiance to such ideals as democracy and liberty. Students also adapted well to coeducational classes introduced by the Americans. Baseball, banned during the war, made a comeback and became popular.

On the other hand, thousands of homeless orphans lived in the shadows of train stations, surviving by shining shoes, selling newspapers, or picking pockets. Even games reflected the sobering reality of occupation life. Toy jeeps were prized playthings. Reportedly, the most popular games were playing at a mock black market, pretending to be an American G.I. and a prostitute, and holding pretend left-wing political rallies. Children learned to flock around jeeps carrying American soldiers, who often passed out gum and sweets.[8]

Reverse Course and the End of the Occupation

In the mid-1940s and early 1950s, the international environment changed drastically even as Japan recovered and rebuilt under American supervision.

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, wartime allies, became chilly and deteriorated into a Cold War. Another wartime ally, China, became embroiled in civil war soon after Japan surrendered. In late 1949, Communist forces under Mao Zedong defeated the American-backed Nationalists, who fled to the island of Taiwan.

Then in 1950, the sudden outbreak of war in Korea produced another clash between Communist and non-Communist forces. Communist North Koreans (who would later be joined by Chinese troops) attacked South Korea, arousing fears in America that Communist aggression would spread through Asia, threatening democracy. Distrust was so high that neither the Soviet Union nor China signed the 1951 peace treaty with Japan. Only a few years after the war, the alignment of enemies and allies was shifting.

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[4] John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton and Co., 1999, p. 139

[5] pantaloons: loose trousers worn by laborers in field or factory

[6] Dower, p. 135

[7] Dower, pp. 169–70

[8] Dower, pp. 110–12

The American government began to see Japan as crucial to its foreign policy in East Asia. Viewing Communism in the Soviet Union, China, and Korea as a major threat, the United States revised the occupation's thrust and embarked on what critics later called a "Reverse Course." SCAP's tolerance of free expression by leftist activists in Japan diminished, and it began to build up the nation as a democratic stronghold against Communism.

As part of its reversal in policy, the occupation helped Japan's conservative government wrest control of labor unions and left-wing parties away from the Communists; thereafter, officials supported more moderate, non-Communist leaders. In 1947 MacArthur issued a decree forbidding a planned general strike the day before it was to occur. Conservative Japanese politicians cheered MacArthur's move, but the Japanese labor movement was stunned by what it considered betrayal. After that, SCAP officials pushed the government to restrict the rights of workers in important industries to strike.

In June 1950 the Japanese government began a broad purge of Communist party leaders and activists. This organized campaign became known as the "red purge." With strong encouragement and support from MacArthur, Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru extended the purge into government and non-government sectors until thousands were thrown out of their jobs. This tough stance toward Communists reflected a major change in policy from the early days of the occupation, demonstrating the impact of the Cold War on Japan's domestic affairs. Thereafter, SCAP threw its support solidly behind the ruling conservative politicians who suppressed Communist activity. It abandoned its encouragement of socialist parties, seeing them now as dangerous threats to democracy and the stability of Japan's society and economy.

In 1950 the Americans introduced bold but painful reforms to stabilize the economy so that impoverished citizens would not be lured by the promises of the Communists. These measures helped some, but the Korean War marked the real

The Cold War and the Korean War

The wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union disintegrated soon after World War II ended, especially after Communists seized power in eastern Europe with the backing of the Soviet Union's Red Army. The two nations became embroiled in a "Cold War," a bitter political and military rivalry that included every type of conflict short of direct, full-scale war. They competed fiercely—mainly in Europe and Asia but also in other regions—by means of propaganda, a costly arms race, and meddling in the affairs of their allies. During this struggle, American and Soviet officials tended to view other countries as ideological battlegrounds to be won or lost, sometimes transforming local or regional conflicts into "proxy wars" with global consequences. Washington pursued a policy of "containment" to cordon off Moscow's vigorous promotion of Communism. Both governments gave economic aid, trade benefits, and technological assistance to their allies.

A key difference between the two superpowers was that most allies of the United States desired and affirmed their ties; the people of Western Europe and Japan, for example, voted in free, democratic elections to support their governments. The Soviet Union held together the Communist bloc through intimidation, threats, and its Red Army; free elections in Eastern Europe were short-lived, and the people had no way to express disapproval or dissatisfaction.

The Cold War and the Korean War (continued)

As rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union became bitter, American officials grasped Japan's strategic value in the U.S. effort to contain Communism. In a short time, those in the top reaches of American government stopped seeing Japan only as a hated enemy nation. Instead, U.S. policymakers began envisioning Japan's potential as part of a perimeter of defense against Communism in East Asia. This about-face in perception gained momentum in 1949 after Communist forces in China defeated the Nationalists to end their civil war.

The war in Korea (1950–1953) most forcefully demonstrated how Japan's role had changed. After World War II, the Soviet Union occupied the northern half of Korea while the United States controlled the half south of the thirty-eighth parallel. Then in June 1950, North Korean troops—with the approval of the Soviet Union and the backing of China—attacked southward, and the United States immediately mobilized its forces to defend southern Korea under the authority of the newly formed United Nations.

The Cold War had turned hot in East Asia, and Japan's new strategic role became critically important to the United States. The official U.S. position toward Japan swung decisively from demilitarization to remilitarization. As American troops were sent to Korea, U.S. officials pressured Japan to form a 75,000-man "National Police Reserve" to maintain domestic order. Japan also served as the industrial supply base for U.S. forces in Korea. Its factories pumped out goods and services for the American forces, and a much-needed influx of funds poured into the country. In this way, the Korean war virtually sped Japan's post-World War II economic recovery.

As war continued in Korea, the United States and Japan in 1951 signed two separate treaties. Japan signed a relatively non-punitive peace treaty with the United States and forty-seven other nations. In return, however, the United States pressured Japan to sign the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, which extended permission for American troops to be stationed in Japan. As a result of Cold War animosity, the Soviet Union refused to sign the peace treaty, and neither Chinese government was represented.

The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union did not end until the Soviet Union broke apart at the end of 1991. But the Cold War is not yet over in Asia. The Korean war ended in July 1953 with an armistice (not a peace treaty) that hardened the division of the peninsula into a northern Communist half and a southern half ruled by a government allied with the United States. The Soviet Union and Japan never signed a peace treaty formally ending World War II, although the two countries reopened diplomatic relations in 1956. The Russian and Japanese governments have only recently begun to show signs of compromise over the ownership of the disputed Kurile Islands (or Northern Territories, as Japan refers to them) north of Japan. Throughout, Japan has continued to be a staunch American ally.

turning point in Japan's postwar economic recovery. The demand by American forces in Korea for goods and services spurred a major upswing in Japan's industrial production; it also created a surge in exports and an influx of payments. To Japanese leaders, the war boom was economic salvation. Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru called it "a gift from the gods."[9]

Under Yoshida, the Japanese government gradually took a more assertive stance in its relations with SCAP and the U.S. government. After having no choice but to accept American-imposed reforms after the war, Yoshida led a calculated effort to soften or reverse some of the "excesses" of SCAP-directed reform. Right-wing nationalists, including even a few convicted war criminals, returned to politics. The *zaibatsu* began to re-configure themselves. Conservatives supporting Japanese rearmament began to speak more forcefully. Not surprisingly, a backlash against American food and fashion took hold, and cultural nationalists led a revival of more traditional Japanese art forms, entertainment, and values.

With Japan seemingly on its way to recovery, American officials began to suggest that the time had come to end the occupation. The Cold War was heating up, and America was focusing its attention on opposing the Soviet Union and China. Now

Shigeru Yoshida

If General Douglas MacArthur was the living embodiment of the occupation for Americans, then Shigeru Yoshida symbolized Japan's struggle to preserve its national identity under American rule. The strong-willed Yoshida was Japan's prime minister during most of the occupation period. He led his war-scarred, defeated nation along its uneven path to recovery and worked single-mindedly to restore self-government to Japan.

Near the end of World War II, Yoshida was one of the few government figures who dared to voice the opinion that Japan should surrender. In April 1945 he was arrested and briefly imprisoned for criticizing wartime prime minister Tōjō Hideki. At the time of Japan's surrender, Yoshida was a sixty-six-year-old mid-ranking diplomat. Then in April 1946, after occupation officials purged a leading conservative politician—a man in line to become prime minister—as punishment for serving in the wartime government, Yoshida was elevated from foreign minister to prime minister.

As prime minister, Yoshida occupied a seemingly untenable position. On the one hand, he was responsible for the government's implementation of the SCAP-imposed reforms. He became a lightning rod for criticism when he told the people they had to be "good losers" and accept the sweeping political, economic, and social changes as the price of Japan's defeat. On the other hand, he engaged in a constant tug-of-war with the Americans, bargaining hard on every major reform demanded by SCAP. Many Japanese neither saw nor appreciated Yoshida's delicate balancing act until years later.

The occupation abruptly shifted onto a "Reverse Course" in Japan following the deepening of the Cold War and the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950. American officials suddenly came to view Japan less as a defeated enemy to be punished and more as an important junior ally to be strengthened as a bulwark against the threat of Communism in East Asia. They swiftly shelved reform and changed their focus to strengthening Japan and pushing the Japanese government to rearm.

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[9] J. W. Dower, *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878–1954.* Cambridge, MA.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1979, p. 316

Shigeru Yoshida (continued)

To some extent, the Reverse Course fit Yoshida's long-term plans. He scrapped or modified many early occupation reforms and conducted a "red purge," driving Communists from positions of influence. Meanwhile, many of the politicians and industrial executives who had been purged by the Americans for their wartime activities began to return to politics and business. Yoshida also agreed with the Americans' demands to rearm Japan, but on a much smaller scale than they were demanding. A 75,000-man national police force was created; it eventually became Japan's version of a military, the so-called Self-Defense Forces.

Yoshida's greatest legacy was the peace settlement that ended the occupation in April 1952. Under the treaty, Yoshida regained sovereignty for Japan. But a high price had to be paid to end the occupation. Yoshida made a secret pledge to the Americans that Japan would host American military bases even after the peace settlement. This agreement—the Japan–United States Security Treaty (1951)—let the United States station American forces in Japan. Although this arrangement freed the Japanese government to spend most of its budget on rebuilding the economy, Yoshida's critics believed that the presence of American troops on Japanese soil was too high a price for regaining self-government. How could Japan claim that the occupation was over or call itself an independent country, these critics argued, when U.S. forces remained in Japan? Others were alarmed by his readiness to remilitarize Japan, a violation of the "no war" clause of the constitution, which the Japanese readily made their own. To such critics, Yoshida's compromises signaled that Yoshida had learned nothing from the country's descent into militarism and war.

His opponents finally forced the increasingly unpopular Yoshida from the prime minister's office in 1954. But he remained a powerful player in politics. Over time, the Japanese people came to respect him as a tough politician who helped the country get back on its feet following the war.

Japan was more valuable as a rehabilitated democratic ally that could support the United States in the struggle against Communism.

Although the Yoshida government's policies eliminated the threat of a significant Communist advance within Japan, it also angered dissatisfied citizens and tenacious political and labor activists. Yoshida and his political allies passed laws that narrowed the rights of political groups—especially the Communists—to organize and demonstrate against the government. Yoshida also centralized the police forces, an act that critics viewed as a move to restore powers of suppression to the police. Opponents did not bow quietly. Demonstrators clashed with police in the streets. Opposition politicians obstructed proceedings in the Diet.

The most controversial shift in U.S. policy was the demand that Japan revive a military force. Even before the Korean war began in 1950, U.S. policy toward Japan had shifted rapidly from disarmament to rearmament. For socialists, liberals, and opponents of militarism, this was a clear-cut and alarming resurgence of Japanese armed forces, whom they blamed for leading their nation into the ruinous war and calamitous defeat. American and Japanese defenders of the plan, led by Yoshida, argued that some replacement force was needed in Japan to maintain order while American troops were deployed in Korea.

The Japanese government created the National Police Reserve in August 1950. This armed force seemed to violate Article 9 of the new Constitution,

In a ceremony at the San Francisco Opera House on September 8, 1951, Japanese prime minister Yoshida Shigeru signed the peace treaty ending World War II. The treaty restored Japan's independence. Yoshida also committed Japan to a security treaty with the United States. Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

but the government officially explained that the contingent was intended only to maintain internal order within Japan. In 1954, the police force was renamed the Self-Defense Forces (SDF)—really an army in everything but name. By the government's interpretation of Article 9, the justification for the SDF rested on the accepted international principle that every nation had an inherent right to defend itself. The government stated that the SDF was intended only for defense within Japan and could not be deployed overseas. (See Chapter 3, Section 3, for more information on Article 9.)

In September 1951—six years after the war's end—Japan signed a peace treaty with the United States and forty-seven other nations. The San Francisco Peace Treaty ended the occupation and restored independence to Japan. Under the terms of the treaty, Japan gave up all claims to territory in China, Korea, Taiwan, the Kurile Islands, southern Sakhalin Island, and other former colonized territories outside its main islands. (The Japanese government later would argue that the southern Kurile Islands—which it called the Northern Territories—rightfully belonged to Japan.) The United States took control of the Bonin and Ryūkyū islands (including Okinawa) under United Nations sponsorship. China was not invited to the peace conference, and the Soviet Union did not sign the treaty. The declared state of war between Japan and the Soviet Union did not finally end until 1952, that with China until 1956. Nevertheless, the peace treaty went into effect on April 28, 1952, marking the formal end of the occupation.

At the same time that Japan signed the peace treaty, it concluded a security treaty with the United States. The U.S.–Japan Security Treaty allowed the United States to station troops in Japan to protect the country against foreign attack or internal rebellion and to maintain peace in East Asia. The conservative politicians who supported the security treaty had to endure heavy criticism, because opposition politicians and about half of the public—particularly those still scarred from fresh memories of the war—were alarmed at the thought of rearming Japan and hitching the nation's fortunes to the U.S. military. The conservative majority in the Diet, however, ensured the ratification of the security treaty, and it went into effect along with the peace treaty.

Question

What two treaties ended the occupation in Japan?

Extension Activities

1. **Report.** Write a short report answering the question "What qualities did Douglas MacArthur have and which decisions did he make that contributed to the success of the American occupation of Japan?" One helpful source is William Manchester's book *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1880–1964* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1978), especially the chapters on MacArthur's tenure as Supreme Commander for the Allied

Powers in Japan. Another resource is the two-part video *American Caesar* (Embassy Home Entertainment, 1985), which contains excellent film footage of the occupation period.

2. **Video.** Watch the video *Occupied Japan: An Experiment in Democracy* (PBS Video, 1996), which includes period footage and interviews with Japanese people from all walks of life who lived through the occupation. As you watch the video, list the main impressions you gain from the interviews. Then define a "successful occupation." By your definition, was the American occupation of Japan a success?
3. **Video.** Watch the video *MacArthur's Children* (Beverly Hills, CA.: Pacific Arts Video, 1987), based on the novel by Yu Aku. The film tells the story of a fifth-grade teacher and her students who must cope with sudden changes in their small village during the occupation. As you watch the video, list specific changes due to occupation policies.
4. **Comparison.** Find a copy of the United States Constitution. Compare and contrast the constitutions of the United States and Japan. How are they similar? How are they different? Which parts of the Japanese constitution seem to be based on the American constitution?

Further Reading

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Section 2 Economic Growth and Social Change

In this section we see Japan emerging from the ruins of war and from U.S. military occupation determined to rebuild its economy and become an important player in the global marketplace. First we look at Japan's stunning "economic miracle" of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, followed by recession in the 1990s. Then we examine how changes in the economy brought changes in family life and affected how people worked and lived.

Japan's Postwar Economy

In the decades after World War II, the growth and productivity of Japan's economy surprised Western observers. Although this early postwar economic activity was built in part on the industrial know-how acquired during the Meiji period, outsiders were impressed by the rapid pace at which Japan rebuilt itself following the war's destruction. Japanese industry, in ruins in 1945, began churning at a feverish pace beginning with the Korean War (1950–53) and the U.S. military forces' sudden need for huge quantities of supplies and materials. (See Chapter 3, Section 1.) In the early postwar period, Japan concentrated on heavy manufacturing, producing such basic industrial materials as iron and crude steel. By the mid-1950s the Japanese shipbuilding industry led the world. The economy grew at a booming 10 percent a year during the 1960s, and as Japan entered the 1970s, its automobile industry became a force to be reckoned with in the international market.

Japan's economic resurgence was due largely to several key factors. First, the Japanese government played an important, active role in building up the economy. One of the most striking features of the Japanese economy during the high-growth period was the degree of cooperation between government and business. In the early postwar period, the government played favorites, giving generous subsidies, capital, and technical information to companies that it chose to nurture into internationally competitive firms. The government cut taxes and industrial laws. It also made it difficult for foreign products to enter the country and compete with Japan-made goods. Finally, the government structured the tax system to motivate citizens to save; the high rate of savings enabled cash-hungry companies to borrow money at low interest rates.

A second key to the success of the economy was the cooperation between management and labor. During the early 1950s, big business defeated organized labor unions, ending a period of major conflict. Thereafter Japanese workers entered into a less antagonistic relationship with their employers than workers in most other advanced industrial nations. At large companies, workers entered a system of "lifetime employment," ensuring them a job and a salary until they retired. Labor unions were often organized in collaboration with companies rather than in opposition to them; the result was higher productivity and fewer days lost to labor disputes. This cooperative relationship helped Japanese companies, and in turn the Japanese economy, to expand swiftly.

A third key to Japan's economic success was the high concentration of its large companies. After World War II, huge business conglomerates, or *keiretsu*, began to form. These conglomerates were vast webs of companies tied together by coordinated management strategies, cross-ownership of stocks, and exclusive networks of suppliers, distributors, and affiliate companies. Some of these *keiretsu* were revived forms of prewar *zaibatsu*, including Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and Sumitomo. Others had more recent or unconventional origins. Whatever their beginnings, most of them became brand-names—Toyota, Nissan, Honda, Sony, and Matsushita (Panasonic)—now known throughout the world.

Foreign analysts praised Japanese management strategy as another key to the impressive performance of Japanese companies. Japanese executives were credited for their long-term planning and willingness to tolerate lower short-term profits as their companies' products gradually gained recognition, and later, popularity among the world's consumers. Japanese managers were also quick to adopt modern technology to make their manufacturing facilities more productive.

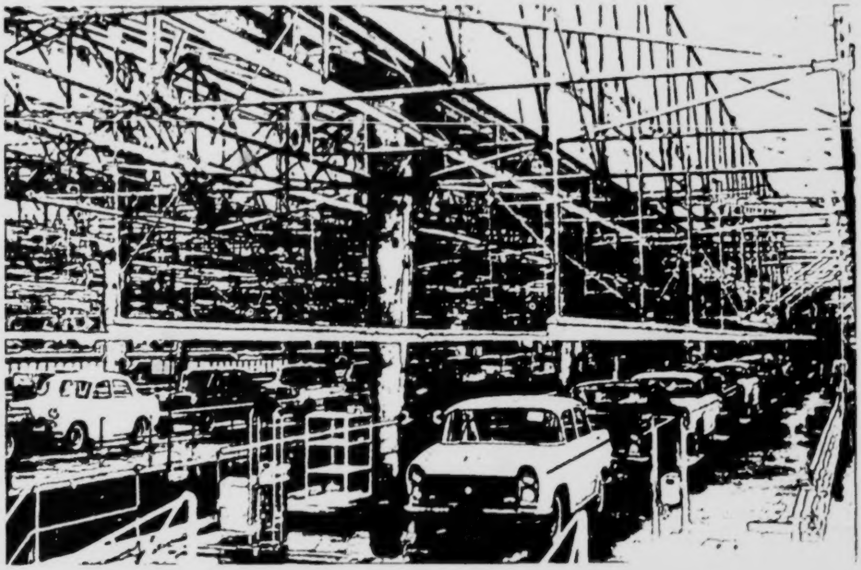
By studying American business techniques, Japanese managers learned to use quality control, or inspection and analysis of a product's entire manufacturing process to remove defects and ensure its superiority. Manufacturers made quality control a hallmark of Japanese business. The painstaking attention to detail and the relentless quest to refine its products paid off handsomely. The "Made in Japan" label, identified with cheap, shoddy goods in the 1950s and early 1960s, became a seal of quality.

From the Americans, Japanese companies also acquired the know-how to improve on products originated by American or European companies. First they refined and produced radios and televisions, then VCRs, and finally computers and the semiconductor chips that powered them. This pattern repeated itself time after time.

Learning from the West: Automobiles

Read this account of an early visit to the United States by four engineers from the Nissan car company while the Japanese auto industry was trying to catch up with the American auto industry.

In 1958 the Japanese began their assault upon the strongest of American markets. They approached that decision cautiously. They would send a car and a pickup truck to America to be tested under American conditions. The car that Nissan intended to experiment with was a closer relative of the first Gorham[1] car, mechanically, than anyone wanted to admit. It was supposed to be a passenger car, but it was more like a taxi, and indeed in Japan its main customers were not ordinary consumers, who could not afford cars, but taxi companies. It was for function, not pleasure. The car was not built for the highway, with acceleration, speed, and comfort; in Japan highways barely existed. It was built for survival in the city, to be driven on some of the worst streets in the world by drivers who drove with such ferocity that their fellow citizens called them kami-



Assembly lines at a Nissan Motor Company factory roll out its Cedric and Bluebird models in the mid-1960s. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 11, p. 60.*

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[1] William R. Gorham was an American engineer who designed much of the first Nissan car, produced on Japan's first auto assembly line in 1933.

Toyota Motor Corporation's Celica and Corolla models sit at the pier at Nagoya Bay in 1978, waiting to be exported overseas. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 11, p. 61.*

kazes, after the suicide pilots who had crashed their planes into American ships during the war. It was designed for short hauls on bad roads. Its brakes were not very good, because no one ever got going fast enough to need truly strong brakes. It lasted forever.

With the car and the pickup Nissan also sent the first of what were to be hundreds of teams of engineers to study American cars and the American market. It was the beginning of a major invasion. The job for the four men on that first team was to study the Datsun [Nissan] as it performed not under simulated conditions but under real American driving conditions and to see if Nissan could make enough minor adjustments to produce a viable car for export. The four were among Nissan's best young engineers. One member, Kuniyuki Tanabe, was not only a smart, up-and-coming engineer but related by marriage to Kawamata, Nissan's president. That gave the team extra leverage; it was a powerful connection never discussed but always felt.

The four men were acutely aware of their car's weaknesses. It was not really a car, thought Tanabe, but a truck. It had an exceedingly heavy frame, and the steel of the body was too thick. The Japanese steel industry might be improving, but it was not yet sophisticated, and it lacked the ability to bring steel down to the desired thinness, six or seven tenths of a millimeter; the Datsun's was a full millimeter, which made the car heavy. It was also awkward and slow.

They soon realized how poor they and their country were, and by contrast, how rich America was. Each man had $15 a day for expenses. That had to cover everything. Even in the pre-inflation days of 1958, $15 was very little money, and each of them kept a chart showing how much money he had spent and how much he had left. For the first few nights they stayed at what seemed to them a good hotel in downtown Los Angeles, the Biltmore, but then to their dismay they found it cost a great deal of money, so they had to move to a fleabag that cost only $6 and seemed to be inhabited largely by pickpockets. They might have been absolutely terrified, four Japanese who spoke barely a word of English, but they had each other. Each would help and protect and comfort the others. Each would lift the others up. Whatever the hardships, they were always shared. It was a theme that was critical to the success of the emerging Japan, people sharing both their strengths and weaknesses. None of the four was to use the trip to America to get ahead of the others; the career of each would succeed only to the degree that the group succeeded.

The language was a constant problem. They had all taken English lessons, but it had been too hard. Tanabe had taken his at the end of his regular twelve-hour day at Nissan, and he had never managed to stay awake. Now, in America, he, like his colleagues, always got things wrong. Once Tanabe was doing some test driving in Nevada and a state trooper signaled him to pull over. It was just what Tanabe had feared, a confrontation with American authorities, and so he began patiently in his broken English to prove to this awesome symbol of American law that he was a good Japanese. He started to explain every single thing he had done in America since his arrival, until finally the trooper, impatient with all this incomprehensible blather, yelled, "For God's sake, go on and get going," and waved him on. Ordering meals was an ordeal. Whenever Tanabe wanted a small orange juice at breakfast, a large tomato juice would arrive. They never knew what they were going to get to eat, and they were often bothered by the richness of the food and the sheer size of American meals. Once Tanabe and his colleague Shin Maki stopped at a roadside grill, looked at the menu, and decided to order the day's special, ham steak. They were appalled when an immense slab of meat arrived. They knew immediately that they had been cheated. In Japan, ham, which was expensive, was very thinly sliced. "Excuse me," Tanabe said irately to the waitress, "but we ordered ham." A short, heated discussion ensued. Soon the two Japanese were ushered back into the kitchen and shown a huge ham. It was where the steak had come from. They had simply never seen meat sliced that thick.

It was the first time that any of the four had ever felt poor. That was the oddest sensation of all; they lived in what was manifestly a poor country, yet the poverty was so evenly distributed that it seemed not a judgment on them as individuals but, instead, a larger social condition. But in America, how little they actually owned and possessed came home to them, in endless ways, whether it was in the daily rationing of their meager allowance or professionally in the constant sense of America's industrial opulence and their own pathetic accomplishments.

They were always aware of that gap between their poverty and America's richness. Teiichi Hara, the senior member of the group, sometimes felt overwhelmed by the scope of the world of automobiles in America. Here he was, trying to test his two little Japanese vehicles, and around him was nothing but cars, thousands of them, all bigger and faster than any he had ever seen, all roaring past him on the grandest highways he had ever seen. The Americans driving those cars would honk their horns angrily when his little Japanese car could not accelerate from the ramp onto the freeway fast enough. Hara was stunned by the impossibility of his task. Even as he and his friends were fumbling to improve their little car, the Americans, he was sure, were out there learning even more on their brilliant test tracks in Detroit.

Tanabe, who was younger, felt differently. It was like coming to America with a toy car, he knew, but rather than being intimidated by American automotive muscle, he was thrilled by how much there was to learn. Tanabe was an auto engineer, and for a man of that profession this was Mecca. It was the country of Gorham, and he was a disciple of Gorham. He had never met him, but he knew the date and place of Gorham's birth, he knew Gorham's middle name and the inventions he had brought to Nissan, even the names of his sons, whom he had never, of course, met. Tanabe knew that when Gorham had designed the first Datsun, he had drawn up the parts himself and sent the designs off to be machine-tooled, and that when the parts had arrived they had—it was almost miraculous—fitted together perfectly. But it was more than Gorham, it was that this was America, and America was the land of machinery, all machinery, but principally automobiles. He wanted to make cars like the American cars and the only way to do that was to come and study them. Visiting America, he decided, was like going to the greatest auto university in the world. It was there every day in front of you, the size and the strength and the love of cars. There was so much room, and so much power. He felt intoxicated by the sight and noise of cars. But there was so little time to take it all in. The four had only one month in America. They needed more time, they knew, but time cost money, hard currency, and there was almost none of that.

Since there were no test tracks in Japan, they had to do their testing on the American highways. Their problems, they soon realized, were how to stabilize the car, how to cut down on the vibration at higher speeds and how to improve the brakes. They were engineers, not mechanics, and they desperately needed a mechanic, because they had to fiddle with the engine every day. But there hadn't been enough money to send over a mechanic. Wakatsuki had found them a small garage, but they had a terrible time trying to explain their very precise technical requirements in English. Their manuals were not in English, and finally they began to do everything themselves. Day after day they would run the car and then come back and tinker with the differential gear, trying to keep the engine from revving too fast. They found themselves taking the differential gear apart and then putting it back together. They had been away from that kind of work a very long time, and it was a little humiliating, Tanabe thought, that men who thought themselves skilled as engineers could be so incompetent as mechanics. An American mechanic who worked with them taught them how to improve the adhesion on the brakes, how to regrind them and make them apply evenly so that the car would not swerve. At times Tanabe felt sure the American mechanic was wrong, and he realized later that he had automatically condescended to the American, reacting against the idea of receiving technical lessons from so uneducated a man. But somehow the mechanic was always right, and Tanabe was surprised that a man with so little technical training could know so much. Slowly their car got better, its acceleration improved, and it began to handle the American highways.

The day that Tanabe knew that somehow there would be a chance for them in America came right at the end of that hectic and often frightening month. It was the day they went up against the Volkswagen. They were test driving every day on the California highway system. There was one stretch on the San Diego Freeway outside of Bakersfield that they particularly liked because it was a God-given test track, a long climb up a hill and thus a prolonged challenge to the power of the engine, and very hard on the gears. On this particular day, as they were approaching that stretch, a Volkswagen with two Americans in it pulled alongside the Datsun with the two Japanese inside. The Americans stared at the Datsun. Tanabe, who was driving, did not like their looks, or their expression, which seemed to say that the Datsun was unworthy. The two cars drove alongside each other for a few moments, the Americans still staring, and then, as happens at a moment like this, Tanabe, angry and frustrated, made it a race. Eventually, he thought, you have to make a try. Back and forth they went, one car taking a little lead and then the other, until they came to the big slope, not a steep hill but steady and punishing for a small car. Tanabe decided to go to third gear and give it all the power he had. Gradually the Datsun began to pull away from the VW. At first it was a small edge and then the length of the car, and then the VW began to slip back. Tanabe did not wave out the window, but he did not take his eye off the rearview mirror until the VW disappeared. We can beat the Volkswagen, he kept thinking, we can beat the Volkswagen. What a good engine, what a tough little engine. Then it dawned on him: If we can beat the Volkswagen in a country where people are still lined up to buy it, we will be all right in America, we poor little Japanese.

From David Halberstam, *The Reckoning*. New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1986, pp. 295–99.

Questions

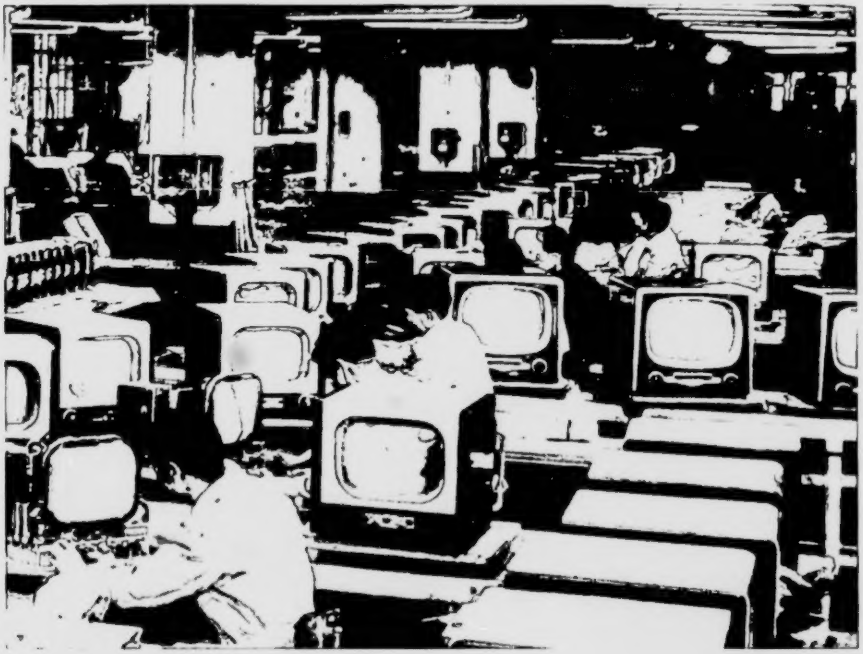
Reread the account of the first dissection of a human body attended by Sugita Gempaku and Hiraga Gennai in the section on Dutch Learning (Chapter 1, Section 1).

1. In the Dutch Studies story, why did Sugita and his colleagues describe their observations of the dissection as "marvelous" but criticize their own previous work as "disgraceful"? When the Japanese engineers from Nissan were sent to the United States to observe the American auto industry, why did one feel "thrilled" while another was "overwhelmed"?
2. Compare the mechanic in the story with the butcher in the dissection story. Why were both men looked down upon, and why was their knowledge at first discounted?
3. What common themes do you see in the two stories?

The Japanese work ethic was equally critical to Japan's economic climb. In the relentless push for economic expansion, the people were called on to endure sacrifices, this time for the good of their companies. Many executives exhorted their workers to greater productivity by linking their companies' fortunes with the nation's future. Employees were often told that if they endured hardships and helped their companies grow, the nation would prosper.

One of the keys to the success of Japan's rapid economic growth following World War II was, and continues to be, the strong bond companies have fostered with their white-collar workers—*sararimen*—who are bound to the company through the "lifetime employment system."

In return for his loyalty to the *kaisha,* or company, the *sarariman* (salaryman) receives lifetime job security, seniority-based pay, and a wide



Japanese firms mastered American and European designs and techniques and produced electronic products, including televisions. There were fewer than 10,000 TV sets in Japan in 1954, but by 1960 over a quarter of Japanese households had at least one. With a rising standard of living, Japanese consumers bought more expensive household items. The TV, the washing machine, and the refrigerator became the modern "three sacred treasures." Courtesy of Mainichi Newspapers Co., Ltd., Tōkyō.

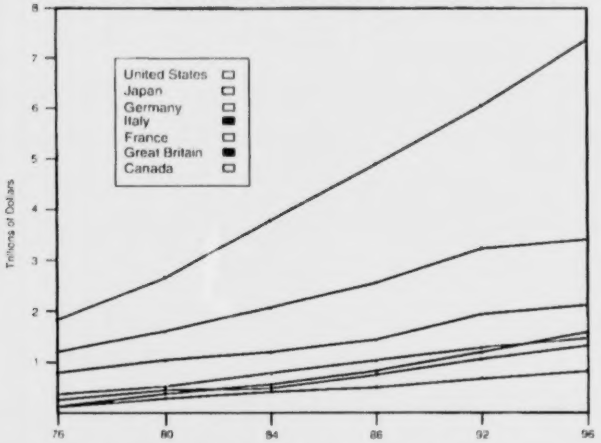
assortment of fringe benefits such as company housing and use of company vacation resorts and athletic facilities. The average *sarariman*'s life centers around the *kaisha*. In fact, he probably spends more time with his co-workers than with his family. After a full work day the *sarariman*'s company expects him to spend hours socializing with his colleagues—usually over drinks—to let off steam and build camaraderie. Twelve-hour days of work and socializing are not uncommon. When you figure in commute time and the fact that most Japanese *sararimen* work half-days on Saturday, there is little time left for them to enjoy with their families. Further, to show their loyalty to the company, *sararimen* rarely use all their allotted vacation time, and many skip vacations altogether.

The lifetime employment system functioned smoothly during Japan's decades of economic growth. But when the economy became mired in recession in the early nineties, companies were forced to downsize and many *sararimen* lost their jobs. However, despite the poor state of the Japanese economy during most of the nineties, the lifetime-employment system remains the ideal in corporate Japan.

Japanese companies commonly required their new employees to participate in special training sessions, like this one at Engakuji Temple (Kamakura) in 1969. The companies believe that the training will strengthen the workers' spirit, discipline their minds, and impart the company's corporate culture. Courtesy of Kyodo News International, Inc., Tōkyō.

Activity: Reading Economic Graphs

Gross Domestic Product of the G-7 Countries, 1976–1996



Data from Demographic Briefs Economics, Commerce and Labor *(http//www.pubilcpurpose.com/wcc-correction.htm)*

This graph shows the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of G-7 countries between 1976 and 1996. GDP, the value of all the goods and services a country produces in a year, shows the size of its economy. The seven leading industrialized nations made up the G-7 group. In the late 1990s Russia joined in the economic summit meetings held by the leaders of the G-7 nations. This group, including Russia, then became known as the G-8 countries.

Questions

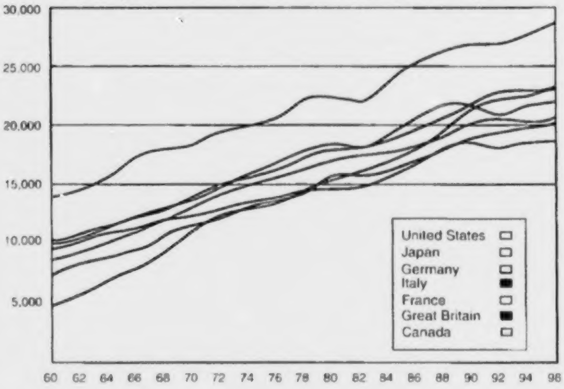
1. Study the graph "Gross Domestic Product of the G-7 Countries, 1976–1996."

   a. What have been the three largest economies of the G-7 group since 1976?
   b. How would you describe the increase in Japan's GDP after 1992?

2. Study the graph "Per Capita Gross Domestic Product of the G-7 Countries."

   a. When was the last year Japan had the lowest per capita GDP among the G-7 nations?
   b. When did Japan's per capita GDP become the second-highest among the G-7 countries?

Per Capita GDP of the G-7 Countries, 1960–1996



Data from National Accounts: Main Aggregates, *Vol. 1, 1960–1996. Paris: OCCD Publications, 1998, pp. 134–135.*

This graph shows the growth of per capita GDP for the G-7 countries form 1960 to 1996. The per capita GDP is the number of dollars each citizen would have if the wealth of the nation were divided equally among its people. This figure gives a rough idea of a nation's standard of living.

   c. Which of the G-7 countries made the biggest dollar gain in per capita GDP among the G-7 nations?

The Costs of Rapid Economic Growth

Japan's rapid economic growth was accompanied by some negative developments. Industrial pollution flared up as a serious issue when large numbers of Japanese were affected adversely. In 1953, over 1,000 people died from Minamata disease, the mercury poisoning ailment that afflicted victims who ate fish contaminated by chemicals released into the sea by a chemical plant in western Kyūshū. Decades, later, affected residents still experienced serious side effects. In southwestern Japan, victims of *Itai-Itai* ("It hurts! It hurts!") disease experienced severe back and leg pains and bone fractures as a result of eating rice harvested from paddies irrigated with tainted water flowing from an

一任派の患者さん
われわれがついている
デタラメ回答を
おしつけられるな
今日の回答を
何名の死者が
見ているぞ！
犯罪的回答
阻止するぞ

Protesters carrying pictures of Minamata disease victims. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 11, p. 188.*

upstream lead-zinc mine. In Tōkyō, the air pollution became so bad that increasing numbers of people were stricken with asthma and other respiratory ailments. The citizen protest movements that rose up to criticize the inattention to pollution by government and business resulted in the passage of stringent anti-pollution laws. Japan's environment has improved considerably as a result of these laws, but problems remain. More recently, a series of serious nuclear power plant accidents have led to concerns about the safety of the facilities.

The nation's hard-earned prosperity was slow to trickle down to ordinary Japanese citizens. Japanese were undoubtedly proud that they had transformed their country into an economic superpower, but perceptive individuals also voiced the cynical phrase "Rich Japan, Poor Japanese" to describe the frustration that many people felt. A European official struck a nerve with the Japanese public when he compared their tiny, crowded apartment complexes to rabbit hutches.

Life at work could be difficult too. Although the Japanese company was ideally supposed to function as an extended family, the pressure to conform to the firm's demands was intense. As Japan became more and more industrialized, the number of suicides increased and a word meaning "death from overwork" became an unfortunate addition to the Japanese vocabulary. The rates of crime and juvenile delinquency increased, although they remained low compared with rates of most other industrialized countries.

Activity: Globalization in the Auto Industry

Globalization of the economy means interconnectedness among corporations throughout the world. In the following activity you will map connections among the world's largest automobile manufacturers as they existed in 1990, after the pace of globalization had sped up in the 1980s.

Your teacher will divide the class into pairs. Work with your partner to create a poster that shows the interconnectedness of automobile manufacturers at the beginning of the 1990s.

1. Make company name cards by writing the names of automobile manufacturers on separate pieces of card stock, about a fourth the size of a 3-by-5 index card. Color-code the companies according to country. Write the name of each

Japanese company in red, Italian companies in yellow, American companies in blue, British companies in green, German companies in gray, South Korean companies in orange, French companies in purple, and Swedish companies in brown.

Japan
Suzuki
Isuzu
Subaru
Nissan
Toyota
Honda
Daihatsu
Mitsubishi
Mazda

Italy
Lamborghini
Maserati
Fiat
Ferrari

United States
Ford
Chrysler
General Motors

Britain
Rover Group
Jaguar
Lotus

Germany
Porsche
Volkswagen
Daimler-Benz

South Korea
Daewoo
Kia
Hyundai

France
Renault
Peugeot

Sweden
Saab
Volvo

2. Spread the twenty-nine name cards evenly over a fairly large sheet of paper or cardboard, at least 18" by 16". You may want to wait until later to attach the name cards to your paper.
3. To show the relationships among these companies, draw lines between the company name cards you have made.

   a. For companies that have an equity stake—part ownership— in another company, draw an arrow connecting one company's name card to the other. Draw the arrow pointing to the company that is partly owned. For example, Honda has part ownership in the Rover Group. Therefore you would draw an arrow from the Honda name card to the Rover Group name card. The arrow should point to and touch the Rover Group name card.

Equity stake
Honda has an equity stake in the Rover Group (Honda ——> Rover Group)
Chrysler ——> Mitsubishi
Chrysler ——> Maserati
Chrysler ——> Lamborghini
General Motors ——> Lotus
General Motors ——> Saab
General Motors ——> Daewoo
General Motors ——> Suzuki
General Motors ——> Isuzu
Toyota ——> Daihatsu
Fiat ——> Ferrari
Daewoo ——> Renault
Mitsubishi ——> Hyundai
Ford ——> Kia
Ford ——> Mazda
Mazda ——> Kia
Ford——> Jaguar

   b. For companies that have a joint venture, manufacturing, or marketing agreement with another company, draw a dotted or broken line from one company's name card to the other. The line should reach from one name card to the other. For example, Renault and Peugeot have a joint venture, manufacturing, or marketing agreement. Show this relation by drawing a line from the Renault name card to the Peugeot name card.

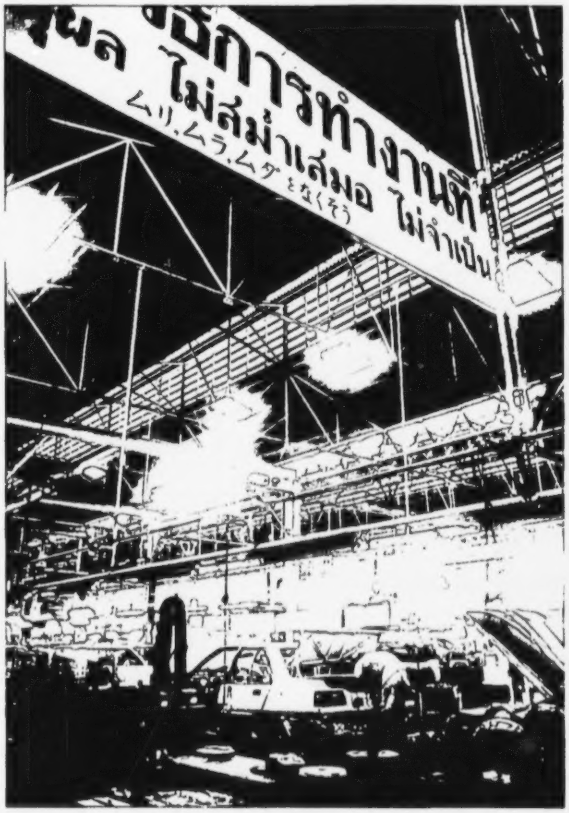
Joint venture/manufacturing/ marketing agreement
Renault ----- Peugeot
Peugeot ----- Fiat
Fiat ----- Subaru
Fiat ----- Ford
Peugeot ----- Mazda
Volvo ----- Subaru
Isuzu ----- Subaru
Isuzu ----- Lotus
Daewoo ----- Isuzu
Suzuki ----- Daewoo
Chrysler ----- Renault
Chrysler ----- Hyundai
Mitsubishi ----- Daimler–Benz
Porsche ----- Volkswagen
Ford ----- Volkswagen

Volkswagen ------ Nissan
General Motors ------ Daihatsu
Ford ----- Fiat
Mazda ----- Fiat
Fiat ----- Subaru
Toyota ----- Volkswagen

Questions

1. From your map, what conclusions can you draw about the interconnectedness of world automobile manufacturing?
2. Which European company had the most connections? Which American company had the most connections? Which Asian company had the most connections?
3. Which company had the most equity stakes in other companies?
4. Why would General Motors, one of the world's largest automobile companies, have ties with so many smaller companies?
5. Why would some companies allow other companies to gain part ownership in their operations?
6. The time period of the map is 1991. Since then several carmakers have joined in huge mergers. Which German company merged with which American company, and which Italian company merged with which Japanese company in the late nineties to form two of the world's largest car companies?
7. This activity looked at globalization only in the automobile industry, but the trend to globalization is in fact increasing in all sectors of the world's economy. Write a short paragraph on the effects you think globalization might have on relationships between countries.

As you saw in the preceding activity, the automobile industry is a good example of globalization. Japanese carmakers began producing automobiles in southeast Asia when Nissan and Toyota set up assembly plants in Thailand in 1962. By 2000, Japanese car manufacturers were making automobiles in several countries. Seven Japanese manufacturers—Nissan, Honda, Toyota, Mitsubishi, Fuji Heavy Industries (Subaru), and Isuzu—had established production operations in the United States. Honda, Suzuki, and Toyota had built production plants in Canada. In Europe, Nissan, Honda, Isuzu, Toyota, Suzuki, and Mitsubishi either were running their own independent operations or were working in joint ventures with European car companies. Toyota, Nissan, and Mitsubishi were manufacturing cars in Australia.



As production costs rose in Japan, companies often shifted assembly operations overseas to cut costs. A factory worker works at an automated Japanese car manufacturing plant in Bangkok, Thailand. Courtesy of Sugiura/PANA, Tōkyō.

The Impact of Globalization on Japan's Economy

The last decade of the twentieth century was unkind to the world's second-largest economy. Problems began to afflict Japan's economy during the 1990s and continued into the twenty-first century.

A dreary succession of downbeat economic news dealt a blow to the confidence and pride fostered by the nation's strong economic performance through most of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Major changes were brought on by global economic conditions, and others developed in response to them. The serious economic downturn made many Japanese distressed and cynical.

Japan's economy was vulnerable to the negative effects of globalization, that is, the proliferation of technology, business, and communication networks throughout the world. During the heyday of Japan's economic expansion, its big companies had expanded greatly by exporting their products abroad. As the costs of manufacturing televisions, audio equipment, computers, and cars rose, companies shifted much of the work to Southeast Asia. Instead of eliminating unnecessary jobs in Japan, however, most major Japanese companies upheld their pledges of "lifetime employment," continuing to pay their workers, even those who did little or nothing. As long as the economy was booming, big Japanese companies could afford to avoid layoffs.

But in the 1990s the Japanese economy was hit by a severe recession, a decline in economic activity marked by reductions in sales, profits, production, and employment. To make matters worse, Japan's banking industry was saddled with bad loans, and some of its biggest banks failed or were forced to merge. The cash-strapped financial industry was in no position to help Japanese industries with generous loans. With the economy mired in recession, even some of the largest companies found that certain of their long-held business practices—including "lifetime employment"—were luxuries they could no longer afford.

During Japan's post-World War II economic boom, the *keiretsu* were formidable competitors that often displaced American and European products with Japanese goods. As the twentieth century drew to a close, however, Japanese companies were beset with competition from both bigger and smaller rivals. The pursuit of profits within the industrialized world continued to spur huge mergers among companies; the tie-ups often created gigantic multinational corporations. These corporate behemoths' combined resources enabled them to produce and sell goods and services faster, more efficiently, and at a higher profit. Some Japanese companies, slow to join this global frenzy, found themselves at a competitive disadvantage. Although Japanese products were as good as ever, lower-priced cars, electronic products, and computer chips from later-developing economies like South Korea and Taiwan competed with more expensive Japanese products. At the same time, the demand grew for foreign goods that appealed to sophisticated Japanese consumers.

The Japanese companies that were part of the old *keiretsu* system found themselves less competitive. These powerful corporate groups—limited by closely coordinated management strategies, cross-ownership of stocks, and exclusive networks of parent companies and their suppliers—were often based on tradition, loyalty, and in some cases even family ties. Their rigid practices hampered the swift decisions required for efficiency and profitability in the competitive globalized economy. In the heyday of Japan's economic boom, companies belonging to rival *keiretsu* groups rarely cooperated. Finally, in 1998, threatened by a major financial crisis, the big banks at the center of rival *keiretsu* started a wave of mergers. Companies that belonged to competing corporate groups joined forces to shore up their areas of weakness and pool their resources to become stronger. Suddenly, the recession had made the unthinkable possible, even necessary, for economic survival.

The pressure of the "lifetime employment" system on Japan's big companies was perhaps the most painful sign of recession for Japanese people. As the 1990s recession grew deeper, many large companies were compelled to layoff employees. Firms used the euphemism "voluntary resignation" to make the layoffs sound less harsh. But whatever it was called, unemployment became a dreaded reality for tens of thousands of stunned *sararimen.* A generation of corporate warriors had devoted their lives to their companies. The hallowed workplace had rewarded them with status, social life, and regular pay based on seniority. Suddenly many were let go and stripped of their professional and social identities. Many displaced salarymen were psychologically devastated.

Unemployed sararimen*—salarymen—look for job openings at a government-run placement center in Tōkyō in July 1999. Courtesy of AP/Wide World Photos, New York.*

Others adjusted better to the new conditions of globalization. Of course, many young college graduates were disillusioned and angry when they found that the big companies were not hiring many new workers and that they could no longer count on guaranteed lifetime employment. But eventually a growing minority of young job-seekers discovered that the new economic realities had created prestige and financial rewards in other arenas. Rather than aiming for jobs with large companies, they began offering their talents to small companies or foreign firms, especially in growing fields such as information technology, finance, marketing, human resources, home nursing care, and management consulting. These younger workers were also more willing to leave one job for a more attractive one, a practice that most of their parents had found unthinkable during their own careers.

Questions

1. What factors negatively affected Japan's economy in the last decade of the twentieth century?
2. What was the most direct evidence of the 1990s recession for the Japanese people?
3. How did Japanese workers react to the 1990s recession? What are some of the ways that people adapted to the new situation?

"The Super Ice Age"

The following reading looks at how Japan's recession in the 1990s affected the time-honored relationship between *sararimen* and their companies.

It is a cool Wednesday morning in the heart of Tokyo. A large group of homeless men are waiting for the free noodles handed out daily by the Shinjuku ward office. . . .

Across the country, a sense of bewilderment and indecision has crept into the national psyche. "The Japanese were once busy trying to catch up with the Western nations," says Tanaka Shoji, a fiftyish executive drinking with colleagues in a pricey Shinjuku karaoke lounge. "After they did that, many continued to believe that as long as they worked hard for their company, it would be good for Japan and the rest of the world."

Tanaka, a general manager at Taisei Corp., one of Japan's largest construction companies, takes a sip of whiskey and continues: "But in the past 10 years we have been a bit confused, wondering what we are really working for." His tone has changed; there is a quieter, perplexed quality to it. "Maybe we have lost the old devotion we had to the company," he says, shaking his head. "Or maybe we are just sticking to our jobs because we're complacent."

What a difference five years can make. In the 1980s, the world was in awe of Japan. Through perseverance, ingenuity and a common sense of purpose, its people had generated one of the greatest economic surges of our times. Only 40 years after their cities and industries had been flattened by war, the Japanese had practically caught up with the richest nations on earth in terms of per capita income and output. Their major corporations were among the leaders in dozens of key industries, including electronics, automobiles, banking, shipbuilding and steel production. True, the average Japanese home was smaller than those in America, prices for goods were higher and working hours were longer. But everything would get better, wouldn't it? And, anyway, Japan was getting richer.

Deep down, though, things were already beginning to go wrong by the 1980s. But everybody was too preoccupied to worry about the future. It took the bursting of the stock market and the property bubble in 1991 to bring home to the Japanese a devastating reality: that a nation cannot live by economic growth alone. When the growth went, something profoundly troubling happened. Japan, once so firmly anchored by its sense of identity and national destiny, began to drift in subtle ways. . . .

The effects of the binge years appear daily in news reports. Growth on average over the past four years has practically halted. In that time, real-estate prices have been falling, deflating property values by a third. The banks are still reeling from bad debts. . . . The stock market's Nikkei Average has plunged. . . . The unemployment rate is . . . relatively low for an industrialized nation, but nearly a record high for Japan. To stimulate the economy, the Bank of Japan has pushed interest rates to historic lows. But, with prices in stores still sinking and, more importantly, expectations gloomy, practically giving away money is not working either. . . .

Sitting in one of the ritzy cafes in central Tokyo or strolling through the carnival atmosphere of Osaka's Namba district on a Saturday night, it is easy to forget that this is Japan's deepest and longest postwar recession. Still, as the slowdown wears on, one fact is becoming inescapable: Everything that made the Japanese economy uniquely successful will have to be reevaluated, retooled, or scrapped altogether.

And, in the interim, a lot of people are going to be crushed between the shifting tectonic plates of past and future.

That's not news to Nakajima Takao. A loyal manager at Nissei Electronics in Tokyo, he was perfectly satisfied to work hard for his company for 28 years. He had few doubts in his mind that one day he would follow his senior colleagues and retire at 60. Then the recession hit. "I was sent to San Francisco for three years, from 1990 to 1992," he tells us, puffing on a cigarette in the cramped offices of the Tokyo Managers' Union, which assists salarymen. "But when I came back to Japan, they didn't have a job for me." His offense: he had turned 50.

That began a year-long struggle with his company, marked by acrimony and humiliation. First he pleaded for his old managerial position, then for a fair retirement settlement. All this time, he went to his office each morning and spent most of the day staring out the window. Finally, in March this year, he settled for a lump-sum payment and left with no prospects for a new job. "I'm bitter because I had a plan for my life," Nakajima says. "They took away my life's work."

Japan's biggest losers are those in the *dankai* (mass-lump) generation, born in the handful of baby-boom years beginning in 1948. With their companies facing ever-fiercer competition from hungry foreign firms . . . cost-cutting is the order of the day. And managers in their early middle ages are the targets. Morita Hiroshi, a twentysomething Osaka-based junior manager, says he observes it every day. In his petrochemical company in the Sumitomo group, manpower is being cut by 20%. He says managers are being farmed out to subsidiaries and affiliates on a "one-way ticket" basis. "People in their 40s and 50s are just disappearing."

Nakajima and his colleagues have some justification for feeling cheated by their companies and by society. One of the not-so-secret secrets of the so-called Japanese economic miracle is that it was no miracle at all; it was built on the backs of a class of modern-day "slaves": the salarymen. These white-collar workers, recruited by the upcoming trading firms, were asked to toil at their desks with a military-like discipline for most of their waking hours. . . .

In return for this loyalty and hard work, salarymen in large firms were often guaranteed a job for life, as well as a wide range of fringe benefits. "Company life was like a religion in Japan," says Fujie Toshihiko, a former salaryman turned professor, author and consultant. "After years of working for a company, you felt you were a part of it. Even I still slip occasionally and call my old company *uchi* [my home]."

Already fading, lifetime employment will almost certainly not survive the changing times. "Many salarymen have awoken to the reality that the old promises are no longer being kept," says Fujie. "They have worked hard, often doing overtime, they have played golf with business associates and have had little time to spend with their families—all on the assumption that the company would take good care of them for life. Many now feel betrayed." Fujie, who offers courses to salarymen on how to cope with life after the miracle, says the changes are having long-term effects. Some, he says, "feel they have lost their reason to work and live."

Other traditional clauses in the old Japanese social contract are disappearing. Many managers can no longer expect automatic promotion on the basis of their age or length of service. They find they are being bundled out of the way by younger people. In this new environment, many baby-boom salarymen have become "postless," meaning they no longer get an office title, such as *bucho* or *kacho* (department or section chief). Nor do they get the special expense accounts, privileges and, most importantly, the social respect that go with them.

White collars are not the only ones feeling the pinch. Large manufacturers are moving into hi-tech and service industries; many of the leading exporters are shifting their labor intensive production abroad. Workers who once saw a lifetime's trouble-free employment ahead of them are increasingly forced to acquire new skills, change jobs and shift to different parts of the country or even overseas. . . .

Japan's young are not spared. Last month, Recruit Research reported that one in two female college graduates will not get a job next year. . . . New job-seekers who will hit the labor market this year—a record number— . . . probably have no hope of finding full-time work. The Japanese media, which likes to attach a cutesy catchphrase to every trend, uses weather-report terminology to describe the job-hunting situation for young women. Last year it was "heavy rain," then it became "the ice age." Now it's "the super ice age."

From Steven Frank and Murakami Mutsuko, "Japan Adrift," *Asiaweek*, Nov. 17, 1995, pp. 40–47.

Questions

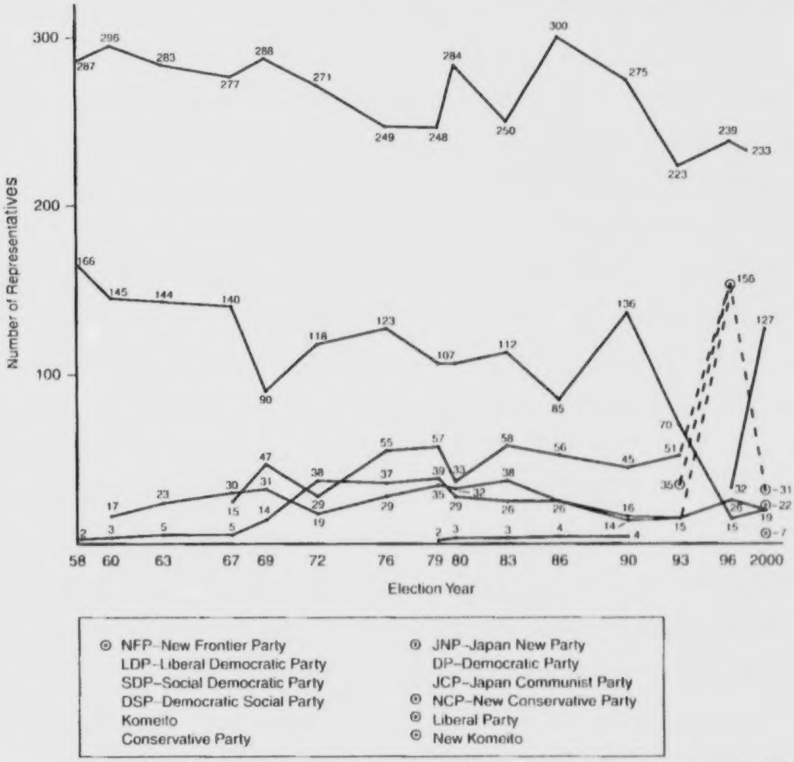
1. According to the article, what were some of the effects of the economic recession in Japan during the 1990s?
2. According to the article, who were the biggest losers in the 1990s recession?
3. How did recession affect Japan's young people? How did they respond to it?
4. According to the article, why did some salarymen feel cheated by their companies and society?

Economic Growth, Political Stability

See the graphs on the following page and answer these questions.

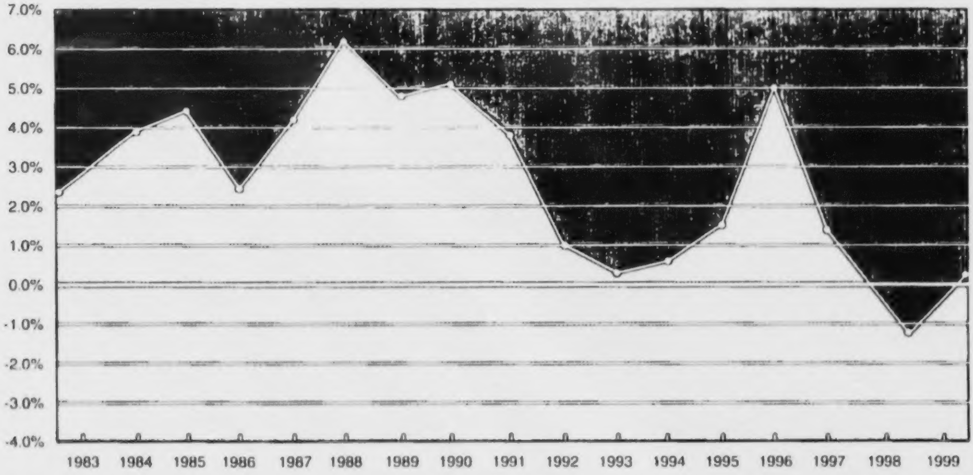
1. Which three political parties have the longest history? Of these, which one's representation declined sharply after 1990?
2. Which party has held the most seats in the House of Representatives since 1958?
3. There are about 500 seats in the House of Representatives (the number is subject to minor change). How many times has the number of Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) representatives fallen below 250?
4. Which party has had the most say in selecting prime ministers and cabinets since 1958? Explain your answer.
5. Is there a correlation between the dive in the economic growth and LDP representation in the Diet?
6. How many political parties first gained representation in the House of Representatives during the 1960s? In the 1970s? In the 1980s? In the 1990s? Which decade was the most unstable in party representation in the House of Representatives?

Representation of Political Parties in the National Diet, 1958–2000



Data from Ronald J. Hreberar. The Japanese Party System. *Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992, p. 296.*
Polisci.com: The Political Reference Almanac. *(http:polisci.com/world/nation/JA.html)*

Real Economic Growth Rate, 1983–1998



Source: Comparative Economic and Financial Statistics, Japan and Other Major Countries. International Department, Bank of Japan. 27 June 2001 (http://www.jin.jcic.or.jp/stats/05ECN24.html).

In December 1972, following the announcement of results of the general election, a leading official of the Liberal Democratic Party paints in the eye of a daruma *doll, a symbolic act performed after successful completion of a task or journey. Although the LDP celebrated in public, they were deeply concerned about an embarrassing loss of seats in the Diet. Courtesy of Kyodo News International, Inc., Tōkyō.*

As Japan's economy surged during the 1950s and 1960s, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) established itself as the dominant force in politics, controlling the government as the majority party in the Diet from 1955 to 1993. The LDP was formed in 1955, just a month after the Japan Socialist Party (JSP). Conservative prime ministers and the Diet focused the government's efforts on fostering economic growth in line with the policy of longtime prime minister Yoshida Shigeru. The government continued to nurture ties with big business so that these favored companies would keep growing and boost the economy. The LDP also defended the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty and the presence of American military bases in Japan against the protests of the Socialists, Communists, and a significant portion of the general population. With the United States protecting Japan, it did not need to put a big share of its national budget into defense; instead it could devote most of its assets to economic development. In their resolve to hold on to power, LDP politicians competed to direct money or huge projects—roads, bridges, buildings—to their home districts and supporters. Periodically the media would expose scandals implicating politicians for giving favorable treatment to large companies in exchange for huge bribes. But as long as the economy kept growing, many Japanese voters were willing to view these scandals as unfortunate but inevitable features of politics.

The Socialists and other smaller parties drew support from voters who were unhappy with the costs of Japan's rapid economic growth and afraid that Japan could be dragged back into war by its alliance with the United States. The largest opposition party was the JSP, which drew its support from Japan's largest labor unions and mounted pacifist opposition to the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty. In general, the opposition parties got backing from blue-collar workers pushing for higher pay and better working conditions, hard-pressed urban residents, victims of environmental pollution and social ills, and devout followers of religion or ideology. These opposition parties, however, were bitter rivals with serious disagreements over beliefs and issues. This made it difficult for them to unite against the LDP.

When Japan's political leaders failed to handle the nation's economic problems in the 1990s, they felt the wrath of angry Japanese voters. As long as the economy was healthy, the public tolerated periodic corruption scandals. But when the economy stalled, voters were not so forgiving. In 1993, voters soundly defeated the Liberal Democratic Party, Japan's dominant conservative party, ousting it from power for the first time since 1955.

The LDP's fall from majority rule in the Diet ushered in an era that was volatile and unpredictable. Many voters were angry enough to turn their backs on the traditional political parties, refusing to

Leading officials of the Japan Socialist Party—now officially the Social Democratic Party of Japan—despair as the results of the 1965 general election are announced. The Socialists' representation in the Diet fell from 140 seats to 100 seats. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi. [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 11, p. 166.*

give any party enough votes to take control of the Diet. Although the LDP was still the largest and most powerful party, it could no longer dominate politics with impunity. Without a dominant party to take control of the government, parties maneuvered to ally with one another in "marriages of convenience." The old-line parties splintered, and many new parties were born. LDP politicians brokered a series of coalition governments—temporary alliances of political parties for governing—to guide Japan during the 1990s.

Women and the Family

As Japan's postwar economy boomed, new employment oportunities opened up in cities. Attracted by better-paying jobs and the dynamism of the cities, people from the countryside—especially young men and women—swarmed to urban areas. With the continuing urbanization of the population, beginning during the Tokugawa shogunate and accelerating during the Taishō and early Shōwa periods, the nuclear family emerged as the new family pattern.

Japan's postwar economic boom impacted the Japanese family in many ways. The long hours that *sararimen* put in at their companies kept them from spending time with their wives and children. Indeed, the *kaisha*, or company, demanded such loyalty from its employees and played such a central role in the life of a typical *sarariman* that he commonly referred to his company as his home. Wives then, for the most part, kept house, often managed the finances of the household, and most important, took care of the children. One of a mother's chief concerns was, and continues to be, the education of her children. To ensure her children's success later in life it is important for them to attend the best schools, from preschool through university. But this only becomes possible if they pass the school's entrance exam. As you can imagine, the limited number of openings and large number of applicants to the top schools make for fierce competition among prospective students. These exams carry tremendous weight in Japan, and the intense pressure to do well on them is commonly referred to as "examination hell." The following reading looks at the role a typical Japanese mother might play at this crucial point in her child's schooling.

"Examination Hell"

> No single event, with the possible exception of marriage, determines the course of a young man's life as much as entrance examinations, and nothing, including marriage, requires as many years of planning and hard work. Because all colleges and high schools, and many private junior high schools, grade schools, and even kindergartens use entrance examinations to select only a small proportion of the applicants, and because examinations are open to all, the competition is fierce. . . . There is virtually no limit to how much one can prepare for examinations. The average child studies so hard that Japanese educators speak of the tragedy of their school system which requires students to sacrifice their pleasures, spontaneity, and sparkle for examination success. These arduous preparations constitute a kind of [rite of passage] whereby a young man proves that he has the qualities of ability and endurance necessary for becoming a salaryman. The Japanese commonly refer to entrance examinations as *shiken jigoku,* which literally means "examination hell."
>
> The . . . youth is willing to endure these tortures because if successful he will be able to join a large successful firm where he can remain for life.

A Japanese mother's concern for a proper education begins early in her child's life. Here mothers kept all-night vigils, waiting in line for kindergarten application forms to be distributed. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi. [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 12, p. 144.*

To be admitted to such a firm, one must attend a good university, and to attend a good university one must pass the entrance examination. To pass the entrance examination for a good university one must have good training, and to acquire the good training one must pass the entrance examination to a good high school. In the final analysis, success is determined not by intelligence tests, nor by the school record, nor by the teacher's recommendations but by entrance examinations. . . .

Once a student has passed an entrance examination to a first-rate university, he has no worry about graduating because the university is committed to his success and would dismiss him only for extreme misbehavior or incompetence. . . .

Residents are careful in their selection of schools, and the range and variety of possible choices are enormous. At the apex [top] of educational life are the great national universities, such as Tokyo University, and the well-known public high schools . . . which students of all social classes can afford to enter if they pass the examinations. Next are the good private universities and the attached private elementary, junior, and senior high schools. Entrance examinations for these schools are almost as difficult as those for the best public institutions but tuition is higher, so that only well-to-do students can attend. Thirdly, there are public and private schools of lesser quality ranging from expensive schools which few salarymen can afford, to public and less expensive private schools widely attended by children of salarymen. At the bottom of the scale are the local public elementary and junior high schools, the only schools which do not require entrance examinations.

All students are required by law to complete junior high school [through the ninth grade], but any student who wishes to go beyond must take examinations. . . . Although normally a student takes examinations in order to continue after each successive graduation, certain school systems, known as *escareetaa* (escalator) schools since students can move up within the same system from kindergarten to college, have only nominal [token] examinations for students within the same system. When a child is admitted to an outstanding kindergarten . . . he is thought to be on the *escareetaa* and established for life. Thus, a heavy premium is placed on getting into the kindergarten of the *escareetaa* schools, and the schools charge higher tuition for kindergarten than for the upper levels. The applicants to the best kindergartens are so numerous that difficult examinations cannot sort out the applicants adequately, and a lottery also is required to select the favored few. Recently, special schools have been opened in Tokyo to prepare three- and four-year-olds for the kindergarten entrance examinations. . . .

Because college entrance is considered so crucial, many students who fail the examination the first time may choose to wait a year and try the examination again. These students, not attached to any school or university, are called *ronin,* the name formerly used for the lordless samurai. . . .

Examinations, by and large, measure educational achievement. Because they must be given to large numbers, they consist mostly of objective factual questions of the multiple-choice variety. At the kindergarten level they may test the child's knowledge of the Japanese syllabary, perhaps a few characters, and elementary arithmetic. Junior-high and high-school examinations generally test science, Japanese language and literature, mathematics, history, and English. College examinations are similar but require more technical and specialized knowledge, especially in foreign languages.

A student ordinarily begins to prepare seriously about a year or two before the examinations that take place in January or February before the new school year begins in April. He studies several hours after school every day, and in the summer vacation preceding the February exams, he spends most of the day and sometimes part of the night in study. He often gives up movies, hobbies, and other recreation during this year of preparation. Athletes usually are advised to drop their sports activities, and music and dance lessons ordinarily are suspended.

In the year preceding the examination the mother spends much time investigating expenses, entrance requirements, and the schools' records in successfully placing their graduates. She visits schools, reads advice columns and books, and gathers information from friends. In addition, she spends much time consulting with her child's teacher and other parents in order to assess her own child's abilities. Naturally she wants her child to get into the best possible school, but this requires strategy and risk-taking. A child can take as many as three or four examinations if they are not offered on the same date but it is seldom possible to take more. If a child fails all these, he may be out of luck. In addition, the process of taking examinations is tiring for the student and his mother, and they frequently require money payments. If a student tries to take three or four examinations during the same season, he may be so exhausted and discouraged from the first ones that he will not perform well on the later ones. Hence it is important for the mother to assess her child's abilities accurately and have the child take the most appropriate examinations. . . .

By late January these initial decisions are made, and the process of application begins. A candidate can apply only during an allotted two or three days. The mother applies in person, taking health certificates, school records, and the entrance fees. At almost every school on the first day of applications, there will be a few mothers who have waited in line overnight with their small snack and cushions, so that they will be among the first to apply. These mothers know that schools state that arrival time makes no difference. But apparently they hope that they may impress the school administration with their seriousness of purpose, that the low number on the application blank may be lucky, or that their child may be called for the examination early in the day and hence be somewhat fresher in taking the examinations. . . .

The month or so before and during examinations is commonly known as "examination season." The child studies very long hours, and if the family can afford it, a tutor comes to the house regularly. The child's household responsibilities are taken over by his brothers and sisters who are warned not to interrupt his study. In extreme cases the mother may bring him meals on a tray, sharpen his pencils, and stand ready to serve his every need. His father may come home from work early to help with the studying if the tutor is not available. The family is collectively on tiptoe for fear of disturbing the young scholar. They become almost hypochondriacal [suffering the delusion that one has a physical ailment], and the slightest sign of a cold is taken seriously as a possible hindrance to examination success. Community activities and social visiting come to a complete halt, so absorbed are the families in their children's preparation. On street corners, at the neighborhood shops, in business offices, and at the dinner table, conversation revolves about the one topic of most immediate concern to all—examinations.

During the weeks around examinations, mothers of applicants try to avoid meeting other mothers and friends. Usually they leave their homes only for necessary shopping or to make arrangements for school applications. If they should meet an acquaintance accidentally, they attempt to steer conversation away from the delicate question of their child's examinations. Since a family will be embarrassed if it becomes known that their child has been refused by a school, the mothers usually do not identify the schools to which they are applying. If it is obvious to the other party, they explain that they do not expect to succeed for they have not prepared properly and they really are trying to get into another school (to which they are almost certain to be admitted). Sometimes a family denies that their child is taking a certain examination only to be discovered on the scene of the exam by the very friend who questioned them. Children also watch closely to see who is missing from school on an examination day to ascertain which schoolmates are taking which exams. On the whole, children are more open and direct in talking about examination plans than their parents, and they often report their findings to their mothers.

Mothers accompany children to all but the college examinations to give them moral support. If the father can take off from work or if the examination is early enough in the day, he may accompany the child in place of the mother. There is a waiting room close to the examination room where parents can sit while the children are taking the examination. A number of mothers reported that they were unable to sleep on the night before the examination. By the end of a series of two or three examinations over a period of eight to ten days, mothers as well as children are so exhausted that they often have to go to bed for a few days.

There is a hiatus of several days before the results of the examinations are announced. If a child takes examinations for two or three different schools, he may hear the results of the first examination before he takes the last. Since the report of the first examination is the first real indication for the family of the child's standing, the results have an exaggerated importance. The mother whose child has passed the first examination generally is jubilant. Conversely, families with a failure are extremely gloomy and pessimistic. Tensions increase as families await the results. Most people will not telephone or communicate with examination families until after the results have been announced. A few mothers and children cannot resist talking about the examinations, and worries are at least shared and discussed within the family and among some friends and relatives. Some mothers have said that there is such an ominous weighty feeling during this time that they would almost prefer to hear negative results rather than continue the uncertainty.

The dramatic climax comes with the announcement of the results. Usually grades are not mailed, but the names or code names of successful candidates are posted at the school. Sometimes the names of successful candidates for well-known schools and universities are announced on the radio. Even if a family has heard the results on the radio, they also check the posted list to assure themselves that there has not been an error.

Families search for their children's names on a bulletin board listing those who have passed the entrance exam for a private high school. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi. [The History of the Shōwa Era], 1985, v. 12, p. 145.

The date the list is posted usually is known long in advance. . . . Crowds gather as much as twenty-four hours before the auspicious hour. Frequently parents will go because children might have difficulty controlling their emotions in public. . . . People concerned about controlling their emotions go to see the bulletin board during the night. Some, attempting to be casual, wait several hours after posting to check the results.

If a child has succeeded, he and his parents are only too glad to tell the results, although they will attempt to show the proper reserve. They may whisper the result saying "please don't tell anybody else," but their smiles are irrepressible and there can be no doubt about their satisfaction. If a mother looks troubled, friends do not ask the results. Indeed, the mother of an unsuccessful candidate may cry and sleep for several days before going out to face friends. . . .

Even families whose children are not taking the examinations cannot avoid the excitement of examination season. Notices of examinations appear everywhere in the newspapers and the weekly magazines. Newsreels show pictures of applicants waiting in line or taking examinations. Experts appear on television to give advice to parents or to evaluate the implications of the examination system for Japanese society. Desks, study supplies, and guides to examination success are widely advertised. Statistical reports in newspapers and in magazines indicate precisely how many students from which high schools enter which colleges. Any middle-class parent can rank the first few high schools by the number of their graduates admitted to Tokyo University, and also the leading junior high schools by the number of graduates who enter the best senior high schools. Advice columns for mothers of younger children give hints ranging from ideas for room arrangements to suggestions for motivating the child to study and for dealing with the accompanying tensions. Some people cut out these articles and save them. . . .

From Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963, pp. 40–53.

Questions

1. Why have school entrance exams been so important to students and their families?
2. What subject areas have been the focus of junior-high and high-school entrance exams? What subjects have been the focus of college entrance exams?
3. How have students prepared for high-school and university entrance exams? How long have students studied, and what methods have they used?
4. What has been a mother's role in helping her child prepare for the exams?

Activity: What Do You Think?

As you just read, the economic boom after World War II affected Japanese families and the lives of women. Before examining changes in more recent decades, you will be asked to take part in an activity in which classmates will express and exchange views on women's roles in the family and in society.

Part A

Form groups of three. One of you will serve as interviewer and the other two will be interviewed. Interviewers will ask questions, take notes on responses, and later report their interview results to the class. The interviewer should make sure that no one person dominates the discussion. Here are some suggested questions. You may add to them.

1. Should most women marry? Why or why not?
2. Do you expect to get married? If so, when?
3. What should be the role of a married woman?
4. What are the most important qualities of the ideal woman?
5. What are the most important qualities of the ideal man?
6. Should most women have lifetime careers? Why or why not?
7. If both spouses work, who should do the housework? Explain.
8. In a divorce, how should child custody be handled? Explain.

Part B

In this part of the activity, you will be asked to "stand up and be counted" in different parts of the room, according to your responses to some of the questions in Part A. With your teacher, select the questions that can be answered with a yes/no response, or with responses that can be grouped into two to four categories. Your teacher will then designate a spot in the room as the place to stand if you agree with a particular response to a question. When your teacher asks a question, stand in the designated place in the room to indicate your stance.

Activity: Women in Japan at Different Times

Now that you have expressed your own views of the roles of women, we will return to Japan and take a step back into its past. This activity asks you to read and compare the roles women have had in Japan in different periods of history.

1. "The Greater Learning for Women" in Chapter 1, Section 1, lists the virtues of the ideal woman during the Tokugawa period (1600s and

1700s). Read the passages and then list the characteristics of the ideal woman. If you did this activity earlier, review what you did.

2. "Bog Rhubarb Shoots" in Chapter 2, Section 1, tells the story of a Japanese woman living in the 1930s. Read the selection and then list the views people had of women in the narrative.
3. Read "Close the Door and It's a Woman's World" in this section. According to the article, in what ways was it a woman's world in the 1990s, and in what ways was it not?
4. Compare the roles of women depicted in the three narratives. How are their roles similar and different?

Close the Door and It's a Woman's World

In 1996 the following article appeared in *The New York Times*. It was written by a reporter who focused on life in the Japanese town of Ōmiya. As you read the article, consider how Japan is or is not a woman's world.

In the old days that grizzled men remember sweetly, a wife like Noriko Mizuguchi would have been waiting up all night for her husband's drunken[2] stumbling on the doorstep, so that she could fling open the door and kneel down with her forehead touching the floor as she called out, "Welcome home, honorable sir."

Instead, when her husband comes home late and drunk, Mrs. Mizuguchi locks him out of the house.

Mrs. Mizuguchi, a demure, quiet woman of 48 who at first seems to fit the Western image of a Japanese wife as a docile doormat, ignores his frantic banging on the doors and windows.

"She wouldn't let me inside the house," her husband, Morio, 49, recalled, shaking his head with resignation. "I was afraid our neighbor Mr. Shimizu would hear, and it was very embarrassing. I had to sleep outside, on the ground."

This is a side to Japanese women that is rarely seen, except by their husbands. Women may have less power, status and autonomy in Japan than in just about any other industrialized country—the birth control pill is still banned here, and wives are legally prohibited from using different surnames from their husbands'—but in the home they increasingly are becoming bold authority figures.

There was a reverse case, once, when my wife was locked out herself," Mizuguchi recalled. "We'd had a big fight, and she said, 'I'm leaving,' and walked out. But I knew that she'd come back, and it was winter and very cold. So I locked all the doors and windows, and I waited very quietly for her to come back. Sure enough, she returned and started pounding on the doors and windows, but I pretended I was asleep and didn't hear. Then I heard a 'bang!' She'd smashed a big window to get in."

Mrs. Mizuguchi smiled sweetly as she confirmed the account, explaining, "It's my form of silent resistance."

Women like her are playing an increasingly important role in Japanese life, albeit one almost invisible from the outside. The increasingly tough side of Japanese womanhood is apparent everywhere here in Omiya (pronounced OH-mee-yuh), a town of 5,700 set in the jutting mountainsides of Mie Prefecture, nearly 200 miles southwest of Tōkyō .

In public, some women in Omiya still walk a few steps behind their husbands on the narrow, winding slivers of pavement that pass for streets, the women careful not to offend a man's dignity by stepping on his shadow. But once they have entered their homes and closed the door—then, they sometimes scold and dominate the husbands whom they call "oversize trash."

Domestic Finance: Wives Control Purse Strings

Like many children around the world, and like most men in Japan, Norikazu Okuyama is on an allowance. His wife gives him $300 a month from his paycheck as a postal worker, and he can spend it as he wants. The rest of his paycheck is for Mrs. Okuyama to dispose of.

"My wife keeps the accounts very strictly," Okuyama grumbled good-naturedly as he sat at his desk in the post office. "I can't even cheat one yen from her."

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[2] In Japanese business culture, socializing with co-workers after work was considered part of one's job. Thus it was not unusual for a salaryman to return home drunk.

The Okuyamas' arrangement is normal in Japan. Typically, the wife keeps track of the household finances and gives her husband a cash allowance for lunch, cigarettes and girlie magazines.

As his workmates egged him on, Okuyama said he spent his allowance in large part on a common Japanese pastime—drinking in bars with colleagues. "I'm very stingy," Okuyama said with a twinkle in his eye. "So I spend money only on what I can consume."

One survey a few years ago found that half of Japanese men were dissatisfied with the size of their allowances, and some have to plead with their wives for an advance if they run out early.

Okuyama sees this at his job at the post office, which in Japan also functions as a savings bank. Husbands sometimes slink in toward the end of the month, asking to withdraw money secretly from family accounts.

"But then we could get complaints from the wives," Okuyama said, so the post office first calls the wife to get her approval.

One might think that cash machines would undermine the financial authority of the wives. But many wives refuse to give their husbands a cash card for the family account.

"Generally speaking, I think the leadership of households in Omiya is taken by wives," Okuyama said. "Things go best when the husband is swimming on the palm of his wife's hand."

Low Profile in Public: Female Managers and Officials Rare

In ancient times, Japanese women wielded considerable authority, and until the eleventh century it was common for Japanese girls to inherit their parents' houses. But the status of women diminished with the rise of Confucianism and with the spread beginning in the [seventeenth] century of a conservative moral movement that preached the inferiority of women.

As a result, Japanese women today are in some respects less powerful in society than they were 1,000 years ago. Fewer than one in ten Japanese managers are women—a ratio that is one of the lowest in the world. Even in less industrialized countries like Mexico and Zimbabwe, women are twice as likely to be managers.

Only 2.3 percent of members of Japan's lower house of Parliament, the key legislative body, are women, compared with 10.9 percent in the United States House of Representatives. In this, Japan ranks 145th out of a list of 161 countries kept by the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

The powerlessness of women in Japanese public life often seems even greater than the figures would suggest. The Japanese police are aggressive in rooting out just about every crime, yet they pay scant attention to molesters who constantly prey on schoolgirls in the subways. Companies blatantly discriminate against women in hiring and firing.

The only painful medical procedure in Japan that does not merit anesthesia in Japan is childbirth, for that is one case where doctors judge that agonizing pain is simply what nature intended.

The contradiction between public powerlessness and private authority mirrors the contradictory faces of women like Tomoko Nishimura, 35, a housewife. Mrs. Nishimura is a complex figure, an outgoing and vigorous woman who seems like a whirlwind next to her placid husband, Kazunari.

Mrs. Nishimura refers to herself as the boss of the house and speaks much more than her husband does. Yet she spends the evening serving him beer and tea, constantly refilling his glass, as he grunts and lifts the glass to his lips.

And each evening she lets him have his bath first—a traditional form of respect in Japan, since families scrub outside the bath and then soak in the same bathwater all day.

Mrs. Nishimura says she is delighted to attend to her husband like a servant, and she adds, "I'd like to be reborn female, because it's happier this way."

Across town, in a living room decorated with traditional Japanese dolls, Yukiko Okuyama explains that the gap between public meekness and private authority is partly a calculated falsehood. A cheerful, outspoken woman in her 40s, Mrs. Okuyama tries to project an image in public very different from the reality.

"Your home is managed very well if you make your men feel that they're in control when they are in front of others, while in reality you're in control," she said, grinning. In public, she says, she

Young women volunteers set up an exhibition of handmade crafts at a senior citizens' care facility. Some women make volunteer work an important part of their activities. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi. [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 12, p. 137.*

Young women prepare to depart from Tōkyō's Narita Airport and spend the New Year's holiday abroad. The boom in overseas travel was spurred largely by "OLs," or office ladies, in their twenties and thirties who work but are not bound by the rigid obligations burdening their male salaryman counterparts. Courtesy of Shuei-sha, Tōkyō. From Zusetsu Shōwa no rekishi. [The History of the Shōwa Era], *1985, v. 12, p. 136.*

tries to play the role of a worshipful Japanese wife, by answering any question with a comment like "I'll have to ask my husband about that."

But in reality, she said with a laugh, "I may be the strongest person in the house, at least 70 percent of the time."

Mrs. Okuyama's 15-year-old daughter, Yuko, confirms that. "Mom is strongest," she said immediately. "If I have a bad grade, I'd rather have Dad find out first, because it'd be scarier if Mom found out first. My friends at school, too, they all say that their moms are scarier than their dads."

Increase in Leisure: Some Men Envy Women's Freedom

One gauge of changing times is that a growing number of Japanese say that a woman's lot is as happy as a man's. Three-quarters of women say they would prefer a daughter to a son. And clearly the idea of a woman's life has some attractions to men trapped in what is known as the 7–11 life style—hurtling out of the house at 7 each morning to dash for work, and returning exhausted at 11 each night.

One whimsical survey last year found that Japanese fathers most wanted to be reincarnated as birds, because of the freedom to soar through the skies, but that the second choice was to be reborn as a housewife because of the opportunity to nap in the middle of the day.

"I think women are better off than men in Japan," Mikio Nishimura, 73, mused as he sat barefoot in the entrance to his home. "I read somewhere that women have stronger cells than men, so that they can bear children. All in all, if I'm reincarnated, I'd like to come back as a woman."

One reason why women say their lot is preferable to that of men is simply that they have more leisure than ever. Compared with past generations, they have smaller families, more labor-saving equipment like refrigerators and washing machines and less responsibility for caring for aging parents in the home.

So women sometimes travel, take classes, play tennis, read books and often end up more worldly and sophisticated and adventurous than their husbands. . . .

Vacuuming and Trash: Housework Still a Woman's Job

While women dominate decision-making about the house and children, they also dominate the vacuum cleaning. It would be difficult to find a group of people anywhere in the world so helpless in the house as Japanese men.

Takashi Ikoma, 52, a forester, sums up the traditional male view by recounting his own domestic skills:

"I can't light the stove. I don't know how to use the washing machine. I've never washed a dish."

But even Ikoma seems like a paragon compared with the late husband of Toshie Yoshida. Mrs. Yoshida said her husband would put his underwear on after stepping out of the bath, and then she would have to pick clothes for him and dress him each day, helping him to put his shirt and trousers on as if he were a small child.

"He didn't even know where his socks were kept," Mrs. Yoshida recalled.

Some young men even put a bright face on indolence. They insist that a man would look like a henpecked sissy if he started helping in the house.

"If my wife were to tell me to take the garbage out, I'd tell her that it's not my job," said Mitsuhiro Nishimura, 28, a farmer who is not married. "I would lose face if the neighbors saw me taking out the garbage. It'd be bad for her, too, because everybody would be watching the new couple and then people would say all kinds of things about the new wife."

Yet bit by bit, Japanese men are being forced to take out the garbage. Young men are changing their attitudes, often under pressure from their wives.

"Unless he lends a hand with the housework, I might cry or scold him," Setsuko Ogura, 23, who is to be married this year, said of her fiancé. "Anyway, I'll persuade him to help out."

育児をしない男を、父とは呼ばない。
お父さんでいる時間を、もっと。

In the late 1990s, a government-issued poster reads, "You can't call a man who doesn't do childcare a father." According to polls, the majority of Japanese men disagree. Courtesy of AP/Wide World Photos, New York.

Mitsuru Okura, 45, a restaurant owner and chef, is one of the middle-aged men in Omiya grappling with changing sex roles, and trying to make sure that his wife remains obedient.

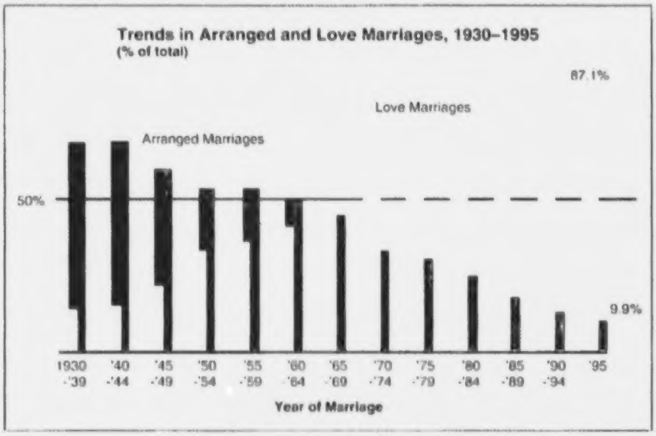
"Women have become stronger, but I still think that women should listen to men," he said during a break from preparing sushi and other dishes. "So my wife listens to me. If I tell her to look left, she looks left. If I tell her to look right, she looks right."

Noriko Okura, his wife, gives a different version of their relationship. The key, she says, is to let her husband think that he is the boss, while manipulating him into doing her bidding.

From Nicholas D. Kristof, "Japan: It's a Woman's World Once the Front Door Is Shut." *New York Times*, 19 June 1996.

Activity: Reading Graphs

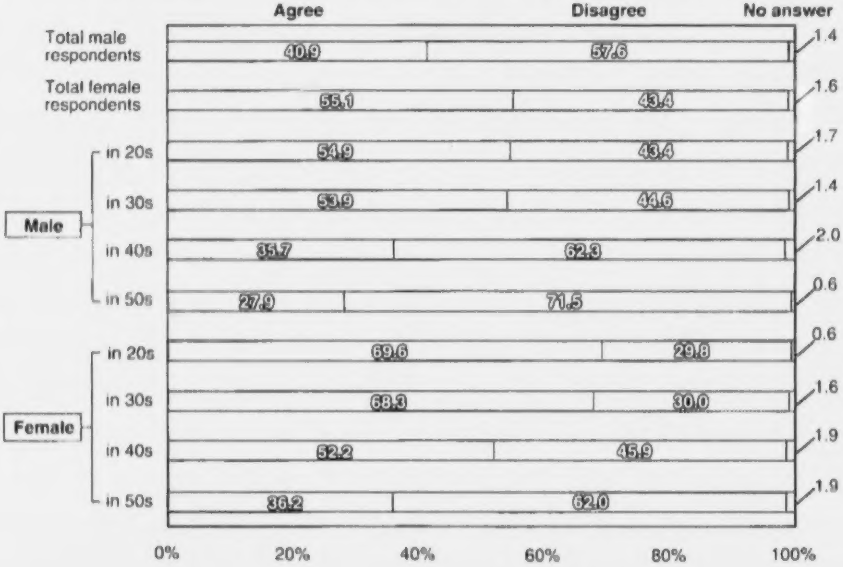
This activity highlights particular trends and attitudes about marriage and families. Examine each of the five graphs: "Trends in Arranged and Love Marriages, 1930–1955," "Attitudes Toward Remaining Single, 1995," "Views on Division of Labor at Home When Both Spouses Work Outside the Home, 1997," "Changes in Custody of Children after Divorce, 1950–1992," and "International Comparison of Divorce Rates."



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 2000. (http://jin.jcic.or.jp/insight/html).

Attitudes Toward Remaining Single, 1995

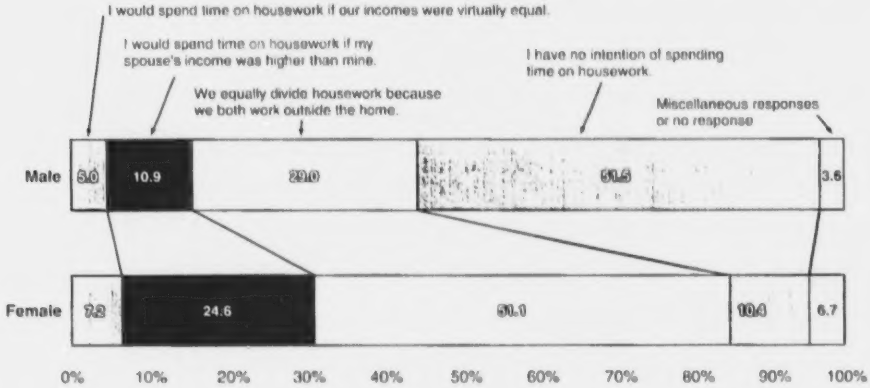
Question posed to respondents aged 20-59: Lately we hear that the number of unmarried persons is increasing. What do you think about such a way of life?



Source: "Survey of Life Preferences of Japanese Citizens, 1995." Economic Planning Agency, 27 June 2001. (http://jin.jcic.or.jp/insight/html/focus05/data/DATA003-2.gif).

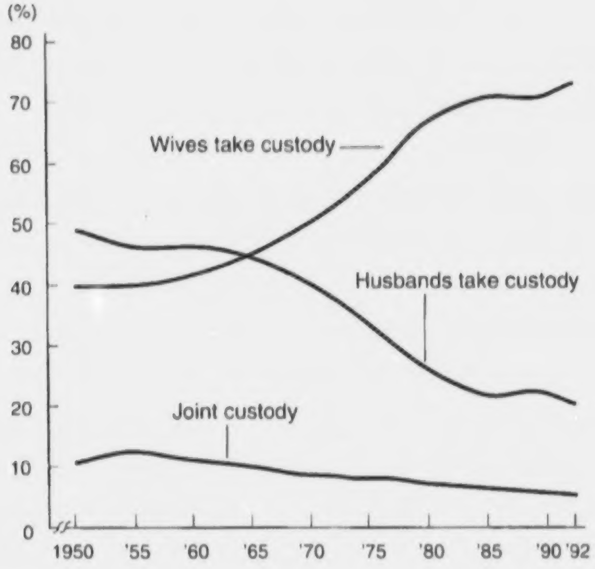
Views on Division of Labor at Home When Both Spouses Work Outside the Home, 1997

Respondents were asked to choose the statement that reflects their view.

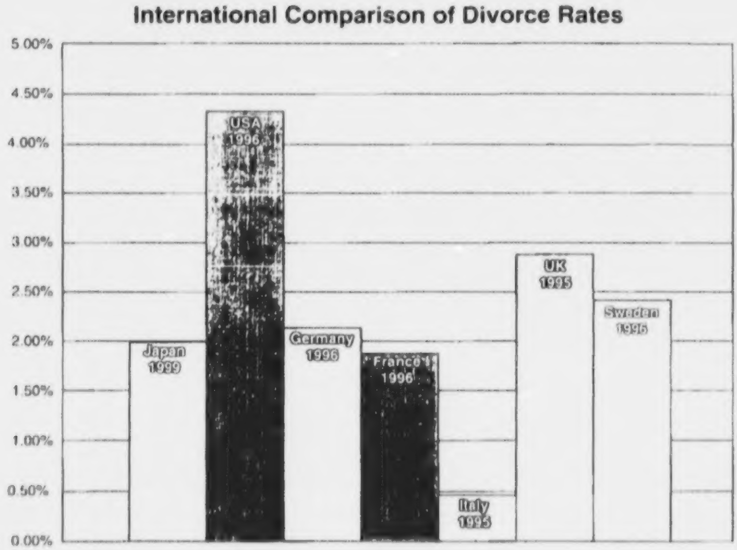


Source: "Survey of Life Preferences of Japanese Citizens, 1997." Economic Planning Agency, 27 June 2001. (http://jin.jcic.or.jp/insight/html/focus04/data/data10-1.gif).

Changes in Custody of Children after Divorce, 1950–1992



Source: "Population Statistics." Statistics and Information Department of Ministry of Health and Welfare, 27 June 2001. (http://jin.jcic.or.jp/insight/html/focus04/data/data27-1.gif).



International Comparison of Divorce Rates

Sources: Summary of Vital Statistics, The Statistics and Information Department, Ministers' Secretariat, Ministry of Health and Welfare. *Demographic Yearbook* 1997 Edition, United Nations Secretariat, Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis. 27 June 2001. (http://jin.jcic.or.jp/stat/stats/02VIT33.html).
Note: Based on data sampled from the period 1995–1999.

1. For each of the graphs, write one or more sentences explaining what the graph shows.
2. Although graphs can convey information well, they may not answer specific questions. What types of information do the graphs not tell you?
3. How does the information in the graphs compare with your classmates' responses to the questions in the activity "What Do You Think?"

Changes and Continuities for Women and Families

The preceding graphs showed information on marriage and the family in Japan but left many questions unanswered. This essay discusses issues triggered by the graphs.

Marriage and Children

In Japan the tradition of arranged marriages, or *miai*, has a long history. Before World War II, parents picked potential spouses for their children. It was not unheard of for a couple to meet for the first time on their wedding day. Love was not considered essential for marriage. But by the 1980s the process had changed so that in most cases a *miai* simply meant that parents or relatives arranged for potential partners to meet. Before the meeting, the

For most of the post-World War II era, the nuclear family was the dominant pattern in Japan's urban areas. Consumer companies targeted the nuclear family with their products and advertising campaigns, such as this 1972–1973 Marui department store ad for buying on credit. Courtesy Marui Co., Tōkyō.

two would exchange photographs and self-introductions. Afterward, the two were free to decide whether to keep seeing each other. Since World War II, the number of *miai* has fallen and "love marriages" have risen as young people have had more occasions to meet.

Compared to other countries, the proportion of married men and women has remained high. But since the 1970s more men and women have been choosing the single life or postponing marriage.

As a result Japan has been facing a population crisis. Over the past fifty years Japanese couples have been having fewer and fewer children. In 1998 the ratio was 1.3 children per couple—not enough to keep the Japanese population of about 130 million from shrinking. This decrease has meant fewer workers to provide goods and services and to support the growing number of elderly citizens. Japan is aging faster than any other nation; in the year 2000 it became the nation with the highest percentage of elderly in its population. A worker shortage now threatens the health of the economy and people's standard of living, which for several decades has been among the world's highest.

Japan's divorce rate has been relatively low. But recently it has been rising. During the first half of the twentieth century, Japanese fathers were usually granted custody of children in divorces, on the assumption that the father's extended family would take care of the children. More recently, the number of women gaining custody has risen.

Women in the Workplace

Since the 1970s more and more Japanese women have been pursuing higher education. Earlier, most parents did not expect or even want their daughters to go to a four-year college or university. A two-year college or technical school education was considered adequate for a young woman expected to settle down to marriage and family life. But by the 1990s parents' attitudes had changed. In 1996, for the first time in Japanese history, more women attended four-year colleges and universities than junior colleges.

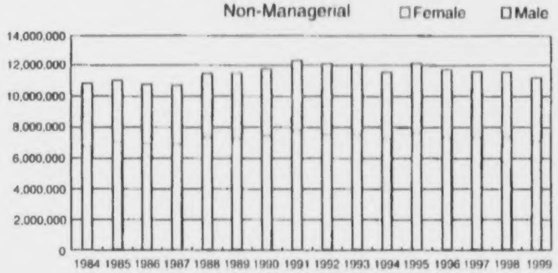
Similarly, the number of women holding jobs has been rising since the end of World War II. By the mid-1990s nearly half of Japanese women had entered the workforce. The expansion of service occupations—such as sales and clerical and secretarial jobs—gave women more opportunities. But these jobs were low-paying and the first to be cut when the economy slumped.

While many women kept working in service jobs and family businesses, some were entering fields—government, law, and architecture—that had once been the exclusive domain of men. Then in 1986 the government enacted the Equal Employment Opportunity Law, which called on Japanese companies to stop discriminating against women. But the law carried no penalties for violators. So most companies still make it difficult or impossible for women to pursue male-dominated careers with the Japanese business world offering limited career opportunities for women. Some Japanese women have chosen to work for foreign companies or even ventured abroad to work.

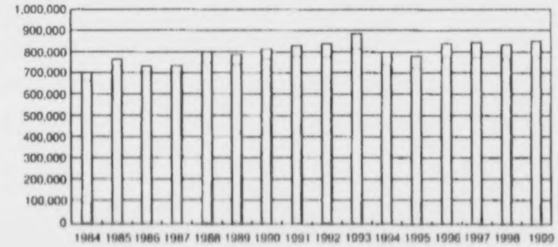
Despite increasing job openings, women still confront a male-dominated society that sees the ideal woman as a good wife and doting mother. Husbands often urge their wives to stay home and tend to the house and the children. Because of this

Women in the Workforce

Non-Managerial



Section Chiefs (low-level management position)



Source: Basic Survey on Wage Structure, The Policy Planning and Research Department, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Labor. 27 June 2001. (http://jin.jcic.or.jp/stat/stats/18WME42.html).

attitude and because of the paucity of good jobs for women, many of them quit their jobs after they marry. (Some of these women reenter the workforce after their children are in school.) Those who have continued working have often had to endure snide comments from co-workers.

> Sometimes I feel the hostility of the older workers when I'm at work," complained a professional woman. "They can't understand why I'm still working. . . . At one year-end party, one older male employee had too much to drink and made the comment that I was probably too smart for any man to want to marry. Then he told me that a woman wasn't a woman unless she got married. He was drunk, so I laughed off his comments . . . [but inside, I knew that was what he and many other men believed in.[3]

Many full-time housewives with a daily load of domestic chores do not get any help from their husbands. One woman confided,

> Sometimes I feel like I'm a servant to my husband. I make his meals, I make sure his shoes are ready for him to slip on when he goes out . . . . I'm continually doing things for him. When his mother was sick in the hospital, I was the one that spent the time there taking care of her needs until she could leave the hospital. . . . I don't exactly like doing all the things he wants me to, but if I don't do them, I feel that I'm not a good wife.[4]

On the other hand, many women do not envy their husbands' career demands, such as long hours and sudden changes in job assignments. Many working women have realized that lower-paying, unglamorous clerical work spared them from heavy duties and overtime hours. But those who have taken jobs have still had to manage all domestic affairs, including the household budget, their children's education, and participation in local community activities. One full-time housewife noted,

Members of the Japanese Housewives Association, known as Shufuren, *emerge from their headquarters in Tokyō in 1957 with rice paddle signs protesting the rising cost of living. Beginning in the 1960s,* Shufuren *and other groups of women became effective activists, pressuring politicians to address pocketbook issues. Courtesy Shufuren, Tōkyō.*

> If a woman works, she is likely to give 50 percent to home and 50 percent to work. I can't respect a woman like that. If she could give 100 percent to home and still have energy for work, that would be all right. I can't respect a woman who does less than a perfect job at home."[5]

Moreover, many women believed that, unlike the arduous burdens of salaryman husbands, the life of a middle-aged wife in Japan was a kind of "women's heaven," full of hobbies, shopping, and social outings with friends. Whatever their particular situation, during the past few decades, career possibilities have added a new wrinkle to the lives of women and their families.

Question

How does the modern Japanese arranged marriage, as described in this essay, compare with some of the ways potential marriage partners are introduced in your country?

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[3] Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living, *Japanese Women in Turmoil: Changing Lifestyles in Japan*. Tokyo: Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living, 1984, p. 264.

[4] Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living, p. 95.

[5] From Anne E. Imamura, *Urban Japanese Housewives: At Home and in the Community*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987, p. 78.

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第7回
全国婦人の集

Female union members of the Japanese Confederation of Labor, or Dōmei, *take a break from the proceedings at the Seventh Women's Conference in Tōkyō in April 1966. From* Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan. *Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983, p. 182.*

Activity: Interviewing a Career Woman

Find a woman who has a career and is willing to be interviewed. Prepare questions about the opportunities and barriers she has faced in looking for jobs and in the jobs she has held. After you interview her, compose an essay based on your interview. In your essay, compare her experiences with the experiences of Japanese women in the workplace.

Activity: Generalization

Write a generalization that captures economic and social developments in Japan from the 1950s to the turn of the twenty-first century. Then compose an essay that supports your generalization.

Extension Activities

1. Read *Japan in the Passing Lane: An Insider's Account of Life in a Japanese Automobile Factory* (Pantheon Books, 1982), by Satoshi Kamata. Compare Kamata's description of the hard life of a blue-collar Japanese worker with the positive portrayal of cooperative worker-management relations by Ezra Vogel in his book *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (Harvard University Press, 1979) or in Frank Gibney's *Miracle by Design: The Real Reasons Behind Japan's Economic Success* (Times Books, 1982). Write a report in which you discuss how large a role the Japanese people had in the nation's impressive recovery from the destruction of World War II and its emergence as an economic superpower.
2. Nothing demonstrated the consequences of industrial pollution in Japan like the outbreak of Minamata disease during the 1950s. Do a report on Minamata disease. You may want to consult *Minamata* (Alskog-Sensorium, 1975), by W. Eugene Smith and Aileen M. Smith, which contains many photographs of the victims and their campaign to force a chemical company to admit responsibility for the pollution.
3. Write a report on either of the following two books that describe the lives of ordinary Japanese during the post-World War II economic boom: Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967); Jane Condon, *A Half Step Behind: Japanese Women of the '80s* (New York, NY: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1985).
4. Read and report on Sawako Ariyoshi's *The Twilight Years* (New York, NY: Kodansha International, 1984), a novel that examines the

life of a young married working woman who has primary responsibility of caring for her aging and dependent father-in-law.

5. You may be interested in listening to the compact disc *The Rise of Modern Japan, Musical Selections*. It includes pieces popular during the second half of the twentieth century. For example, *Gakusei Jidai* ("Student Days") was a well-known song in the mid 1960s, expressing nostalgia for the days of youth; *Konnichiwa Akachan* ("Good Afternoon, Little One"), which expresses a mother's love for her baby, was popular in the 1960s; and *Tabidachi no Uta* ("Traveling Song"), popular in the 1970s, reflects the influence of American folk singing.
6. When Japanese companies set up automobile factories in the United States in the 1980s, some people believed that the cultural differences between Japanese managers and American workers would make such ventures impossible. The articles that follow include different perspectives on this experience. The first two listed are generally positive; the second two are not. Read at least two of these articles and then report to the class on what you learned.

   Doron P. Levin, "Adjusting to Japan's Car Culture." *New York Times*, March 4, 1992.
   Marguerite Michaels. "Hands Across the Workplace." *Time*, December 26, 1988.
   James Risen, "Japanese Labor Policies Stirring U.S. Rebellion." *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1989.
   Jonathan Peterson, "Americans as Watched Executives." *Los Angeles Times*, July 11, 1988.

7. The Japanese movie *Shall We Dance?* (A Daiei Film, 1996; in Japanese with English subtitles; 120 minutes) provides a glimpse into the life of a middle-aged salaryman who breaks away from the drudgery of his white-collar job by learning ballroom dancing. Watch a video of the movie and then write a review of it. Share your review with your classmates, noting especially what you learned about the lives of Japan's white-collar workers from the film.
8. Thomas L. Friedman wrote about globalization in *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999.) Read the book. Then review it orally or in writing. In your review, explain what the Lexus and the olive tree in the title refer to and tell how Friedman defines globalization.
9. In 1985 General Motors decided to produce an American car that could compete in the Japanese-dominated market. The company established a plant in rural Tennessee to manufacture the Saturn. Read *In the Rings of Saturn*, by Joe Sherman (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994) and describe the establishment of the Saturn plant and how it operated. Or read *Forming the Future: Lessons from the Saturn Corporation*, by Jack O'Toole (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), which describes how and why Saturn's innovative management team was replaced with a traditional union. Devise a way to share what you have learned with your classmates.
10. *Japan: Why It Works; Why It Doesn't: Economics in Everyday Life*, edited by James Mak (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998) explains the workings of Japan's economy by focusing on everyday life. "Why Is Japan a Paradise of Vending Machines?" and "Why Do Students Take It Easy at the University?" are the names of two of the chapters. Skim the table of contents and select five of the chapters that seem interesting to you. Then explain what you have learned orally or in writing.

Further Reading

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Family Life and Women

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Section 3 Japan and the World

This section examines Japan's place in the world, exploring how its emergence as an economic superpower changed its relations with other countries. The first part discusses how Japan's growing international trade led to friction with its American and European trading partners. Next we look at how the "no-war" clause in Japan's constitution has affected its participation in international affairs. And the last part of this section deals with regional tensions involving Japan and its neighbors. This part also and discusses "outsider" groups within Japan and the discrimination they face.

Trade Relations

Japan's trade relations with foreign countries transformed its economy. In the decades after World War II, profits from Japanese exports helped the nation rebuild and become an important player in the worldwide economy. In the 1960s Japanese products set an international standard for quality at a good price. Since then, robust sales of Japanese cars, advanced machinery, and user-friendly, cutting-edge consumer electronics have spread throughout the world. Revenue from Japan's exports benefited the whole nation by boosting the standard of living and covering the costs of new public programs and facilities.

But because of the enormous potential for profit in the import-export business, international trade often became entangled in controversy. To help Japan rebuild its economy, the United States had let Japan sell its products in the United States at artificially low prices in the 1950s and 1960s and tolerated the barriers Japan set up to restrict the sale of many American products in Japan. Limiting the quantity and kinds of foreign goods that could be sold in Japan protected Japanese companies from foreign competition, thereby enabling some of them to grow into global powerhouses. But by the late 1960s the United States—Japan's largest trading partner since the end of the war—and many European nations began to denounce Japan for what they considered unfair and restrictive trade practices. As Japan grew into a major economic power and Japanese products began outselling their American counterparts, the United States began calling on Japan to open its markets to more imports. Along with the United States, European nations urged Japan to adopt a "free" trade policy, one in which governments try not to restrict the flow of imports by imposing tariffs, import bans, or other obstacles to trade.

Besides complaining about the limits on the sale of American goods and services in Japan, the U.S. government also protested that Japanese companies were selling too much in the United States. Of course, no one was forcing Americans to buy Japanese products. They were simply choosing well-made, well-designed Japanese cars, televisions, and other products over American-made versions. U.S. companies, whose sales plummeted because of consumers' preference for Japanese goods, complained to Washington, which in turn put pressure on the Japanese government. In a number of cases, the United States demanded that Japan put "voluntary" limits on the quantity of certain products that Japanese companies exported to the United States. (The limits were, of course, not voluntary at all.) In 1977, for example, the United States restricted the number of Japan-made televisions that could be imported. In 1981, the U.S. government put a ceiling on imports of Japan-made cars. Washington threatened to slap tariffs—government-imposed import fees—on Japanese goods if Japan refused to comply with American demands. Tariffs would have raised the price of the imports and made them less competitive with American products. Yet despite the U.S.

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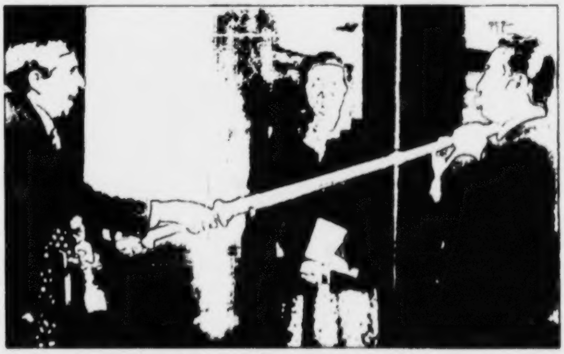
government's repeated efforts to regulate Japanese imports, the American people kept showing a strong preference for Japanese products.

Disputes flared over trade in agricultural products, cars and car parts, consumer electronics, computers and their components, and financial services. At best, the conflicting parties took their complaints to the negotiating table, either in government-to-government negotiations or in regional or global forums set up to expand the rules of free and fair trade. At their worst, trade became embroiled in bitter disputes, with one nation threatening to penalize the other nation's exports.

As major Japanese companies confronted rising production costs at home and demands from the United States and Europe to hold back exports, a growing number of Japanese firms built facilities overseas. Japanese companies bought or built factories in North America and Europe to avoid import restrictions there. (According to official U.S. statistics, a Toyota car or a Toshiba television made in the United States does not count as an import.) In Southeast Asia and China, Japanese companies lowered their production costs by using cheap labor in those countries to assemble Japanese cars, computers, and other consumer products.

Questions

1. Why did the Japanese government restrict the sale of many foreign-made products in Japan?
2. Why did the United States pressure Japan to "voluntarily" limit the amount of exports Japanese companies sent to the United States?
3. Why did Japanese companies build manufacturing plants in the United States and other countries?



Japanese trade minister (later prime minister) Hashimoto Ryūtarō and United States Trade Representative Mickey Kantor clown for the media with a kendō sword after the conclusion of acrimonious trade talks in 1995. Beginning in the late 1960s, Japanese and American trade negotiators sparred over a wide range of trade issues. Courtesy of AFP Photo/Fabrice Coffrini.

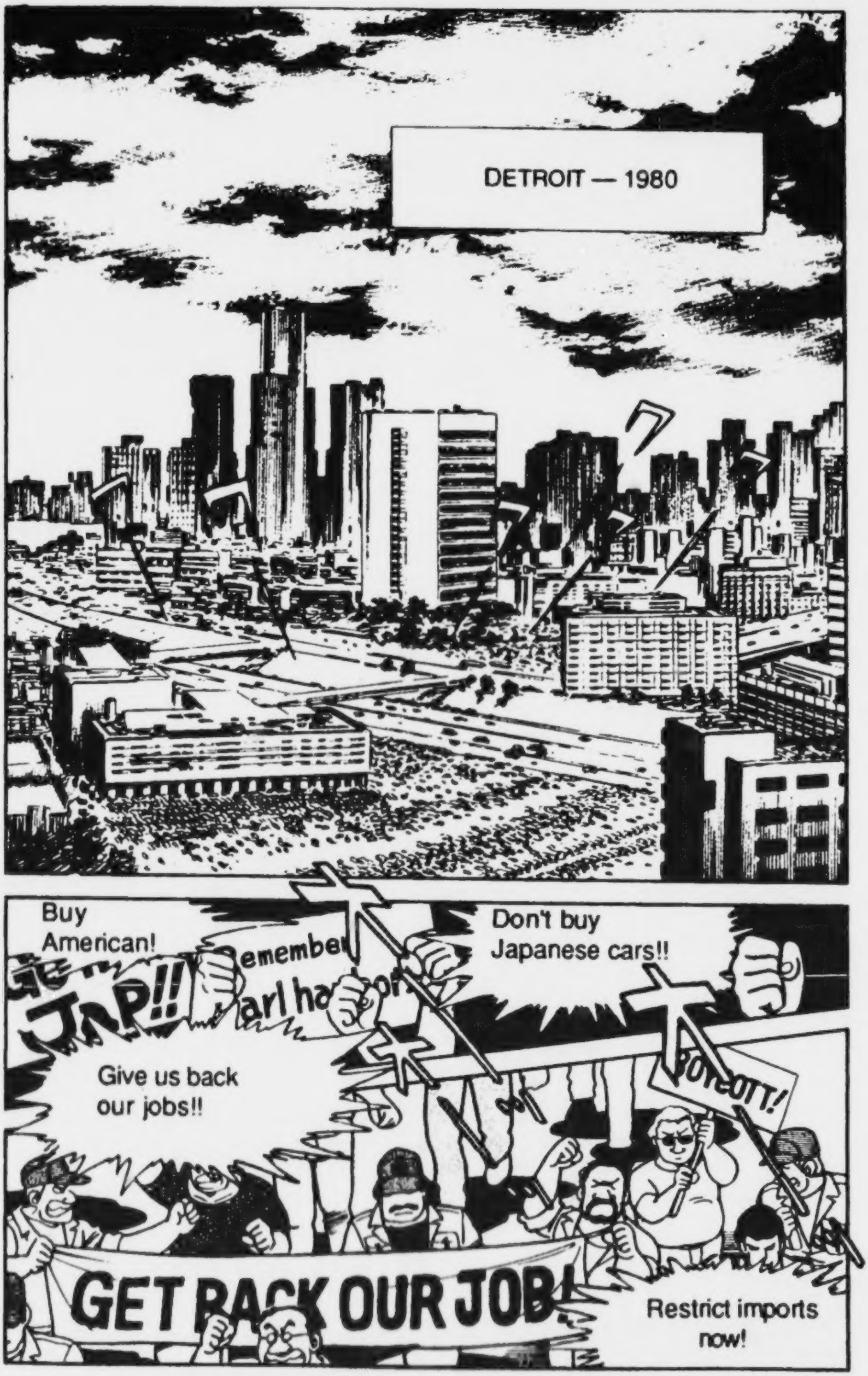
Trade Friction

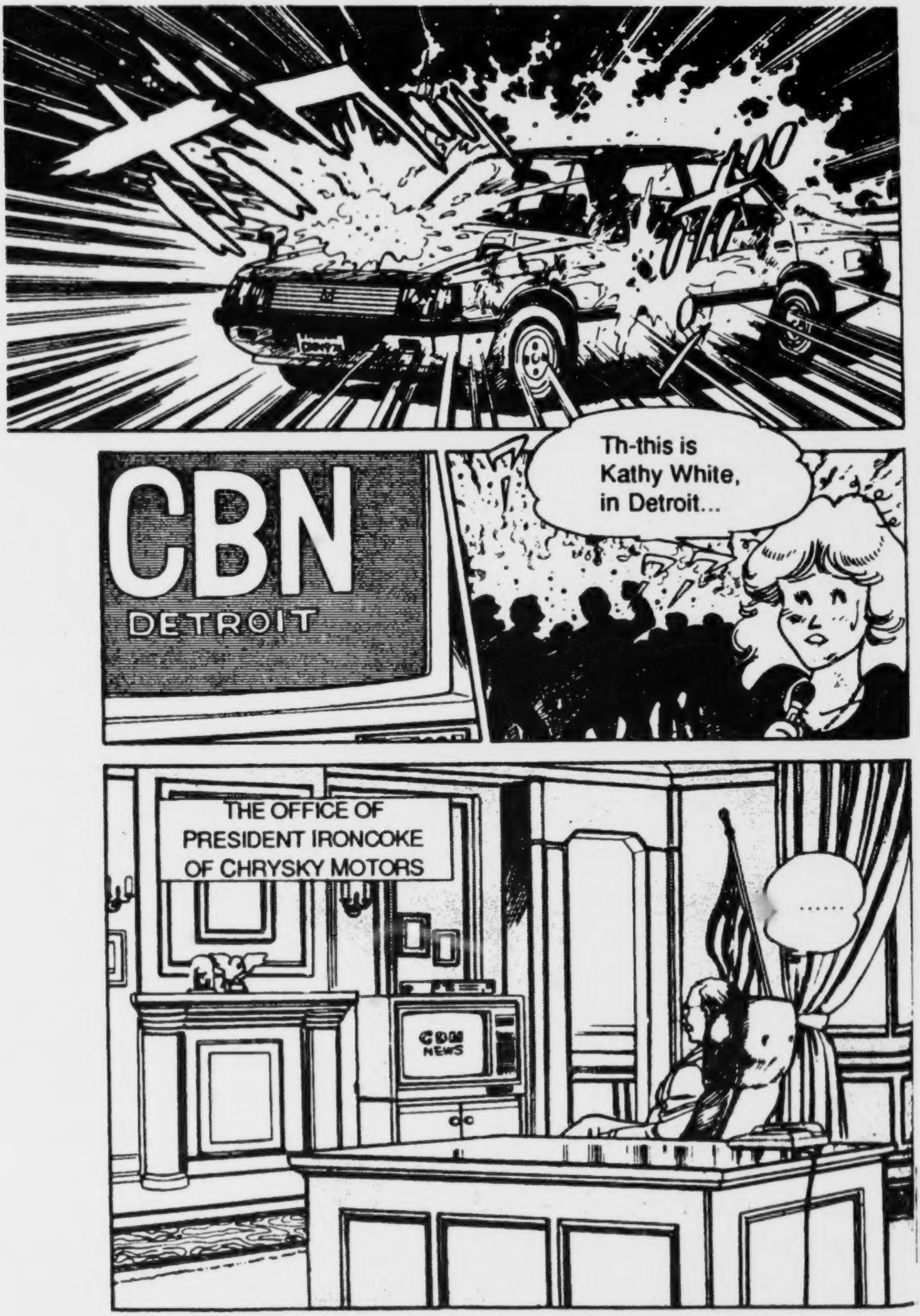
The following excerpt comes from a translated *manga*, a Japanese term that can refer to a cartoon, an animated film, or a pictorial novel. *Manga* enjoy immense popularity in Japan and are read widely by both children and adults. This excerpt is from the opening chapter of a three-hundred-page educational *manga, Japan Inc.: An Introduction to Japanese Economics*. By dramatizing complicated economic issues and statistics, this best-selling *manga* presented an entertaining explanation of Japan's economy. Chapter One, "Trade Friction," gives a Japanese view of trade relations between the United States and Japan in the 1980s and the beginning of the globalization of Japan's automobile industry.

While reading the excerpt, keep in mind that it is a translation of a Japanese publication meant for a Japanese audience.

After you have read the excerpt, answer the questions below.

1. In the beginning of the excerpt, why are Americans angry at Japan? Why does their anger confuse the reporter?
2. How do the leaders at Toyosan Automobile Corporation feel about being pressured to adopt a self-restricting policy on their exports to the United States?
3. On the last page of the excerpt, why does the president of Chrysky Motors no longer fear competition from Japanese automobile companies?
4. As you read before, American leaders who claimed to support the idea of free trade criticized Japan for not allowing more American goods to be sold in Japan. Why did Japan's leaders argue that American policies on Japanese imports went against the idea of free trade?


DETROIT — 1980
Buy American!
Remembe
arl ha or
GE
JAP!!
Don't buy Japanese cars!!
Give us back our jobs!!
BOYCOTT!
GET BACK OUR JOB!
Restrict imports now!


CBN
DETROIT
Th-this is Kathy White, in Detroit...
THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT IRONCOKE OF CHRYSKY MOTORS
......
CBN NEWS

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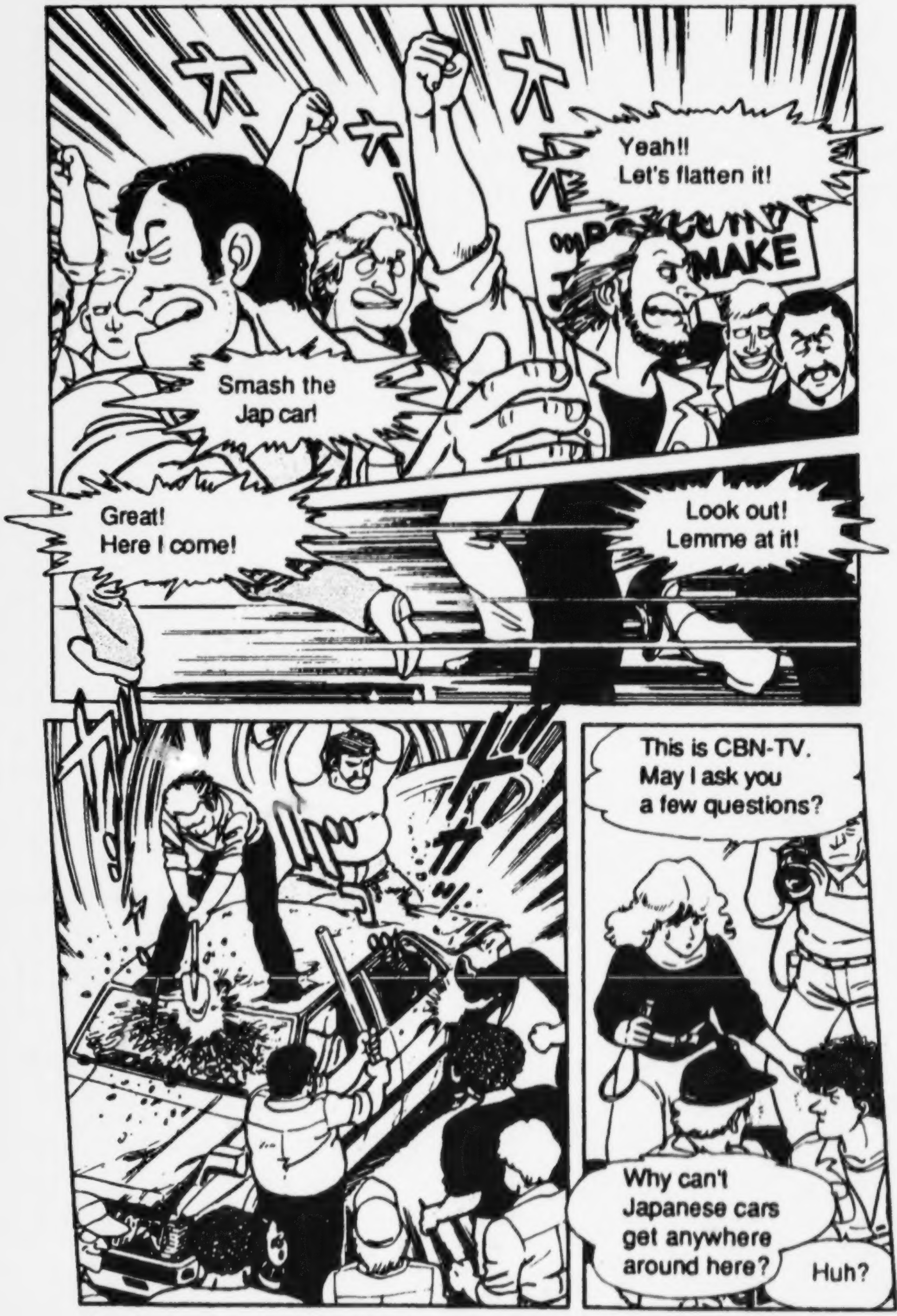
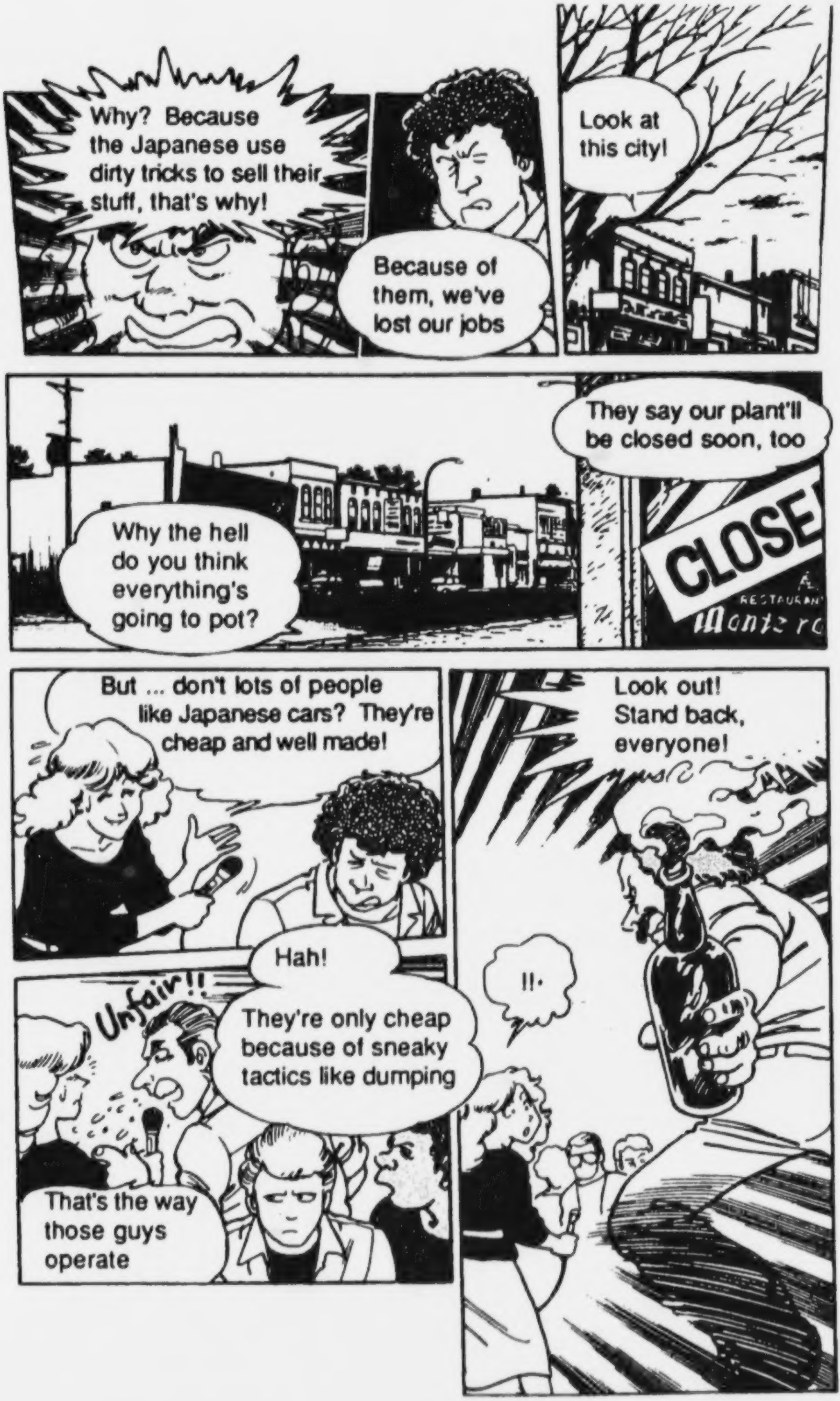
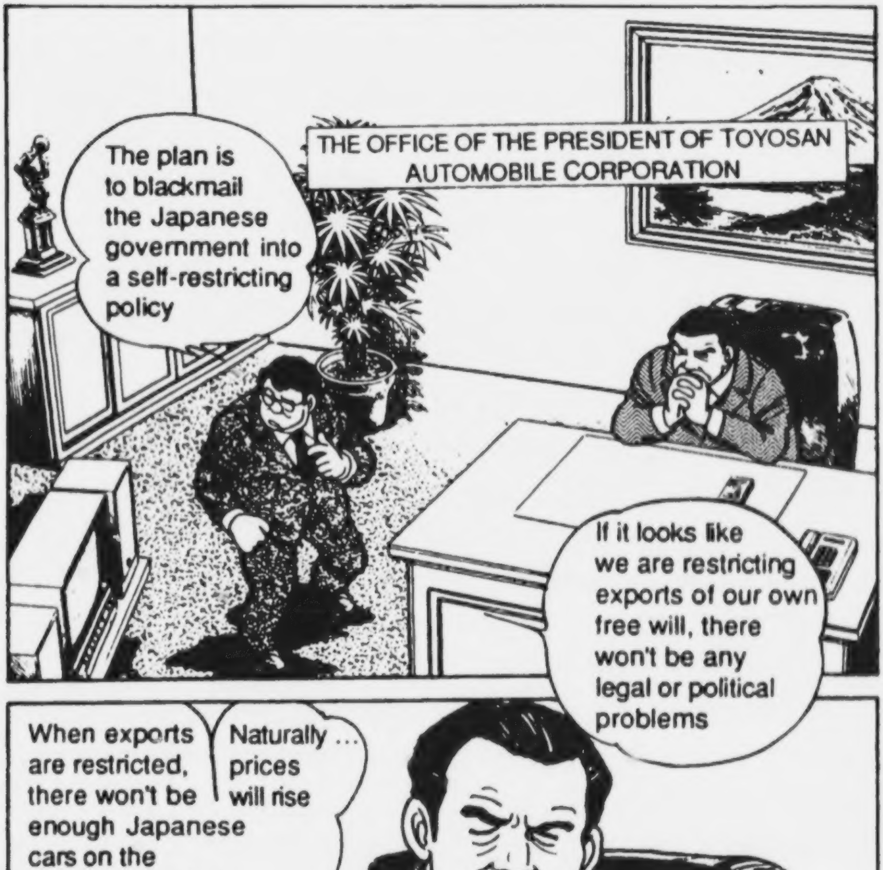
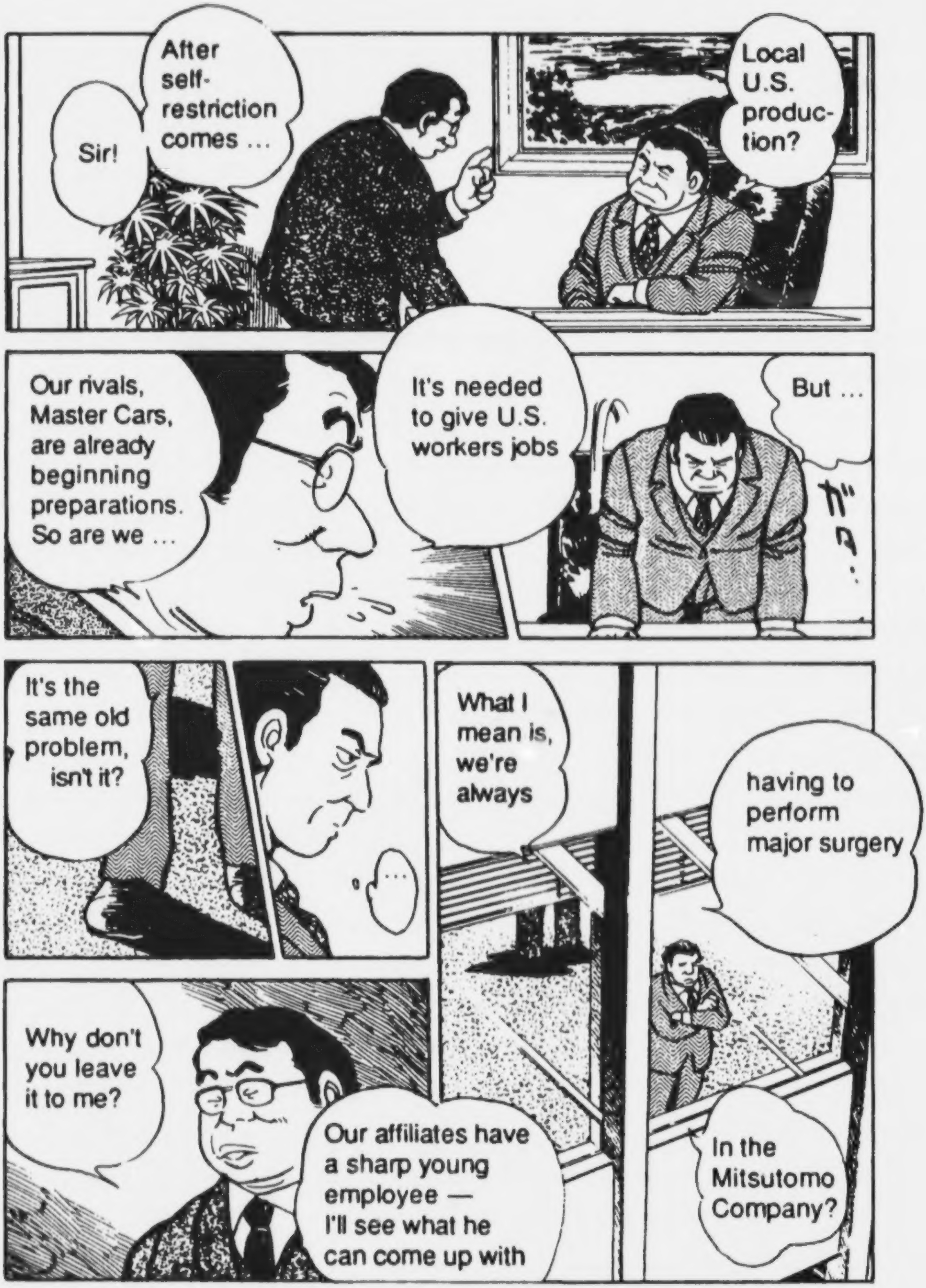

Smash the Jap car!
Yeah!! Let's flatten it!
MAKE
Great! Here I come!
Look out! Lemme at it!
This is CBN-TV. May I ask you a few questions?
Why can't Japanese cars get anywhere around here?
Huh?

After the second oil crisis, sales of gas-saving Japanese cars took off in the U.S. In 1980 there was a recorded growth of 17.6% over 1979, and automobile friction rose.

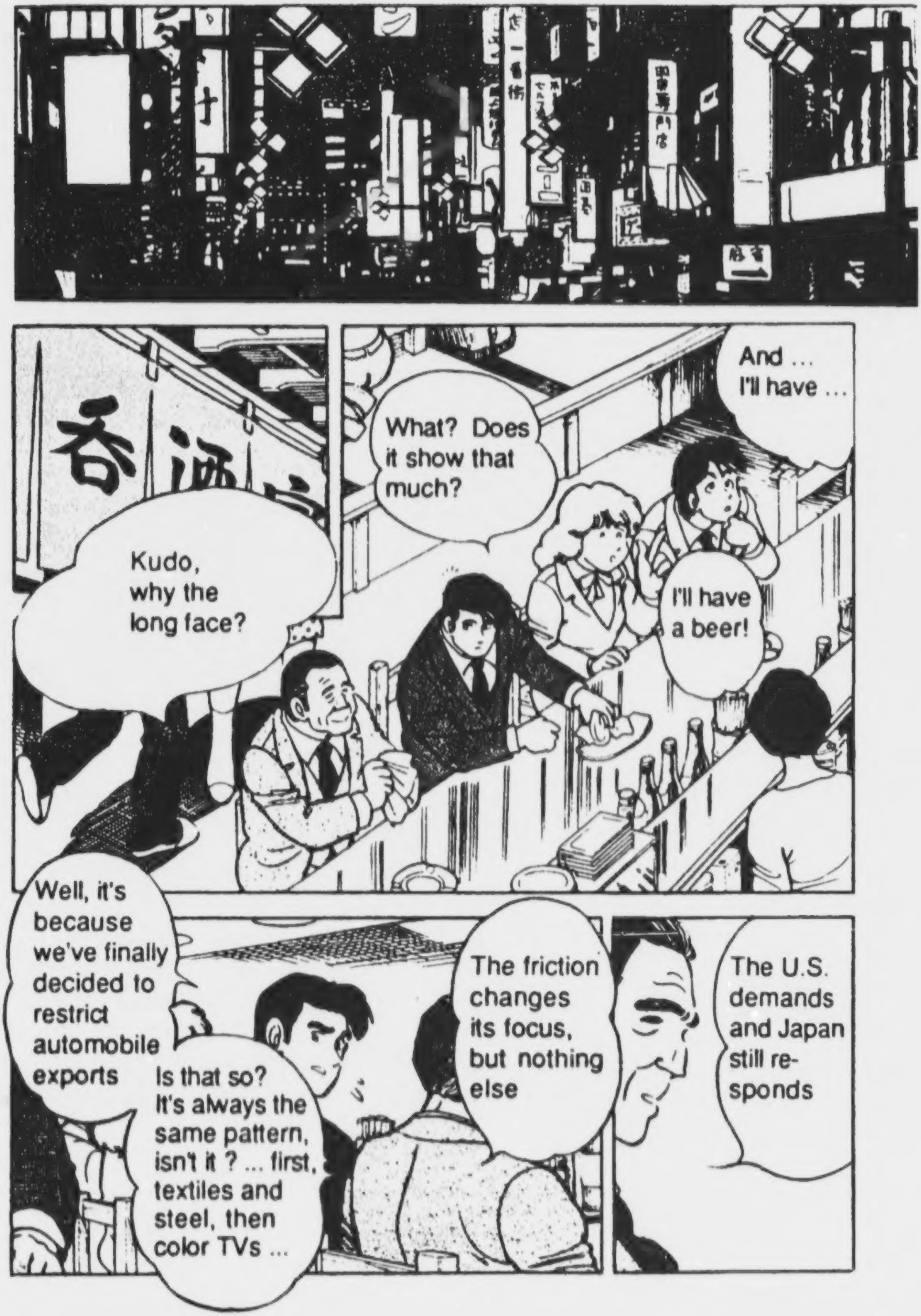

Why? Because the Japanese use dirty tricks to sell their stuff, that's why!
Because of them, we've lost our jobs
Look at this city!
Why the hell do you think everything's going to pot?
They say our plant'll be closed soon, too
CLOSE
RESTAURANT
Montz ro
But ... don't lots of people like Japanese cars? They're cheap and well made!
Hah!
They're only cheap because of sneaky tactics like dumping
Unfair!!
That's the way those guys operate
Look out! Stand back, everyone!
!!

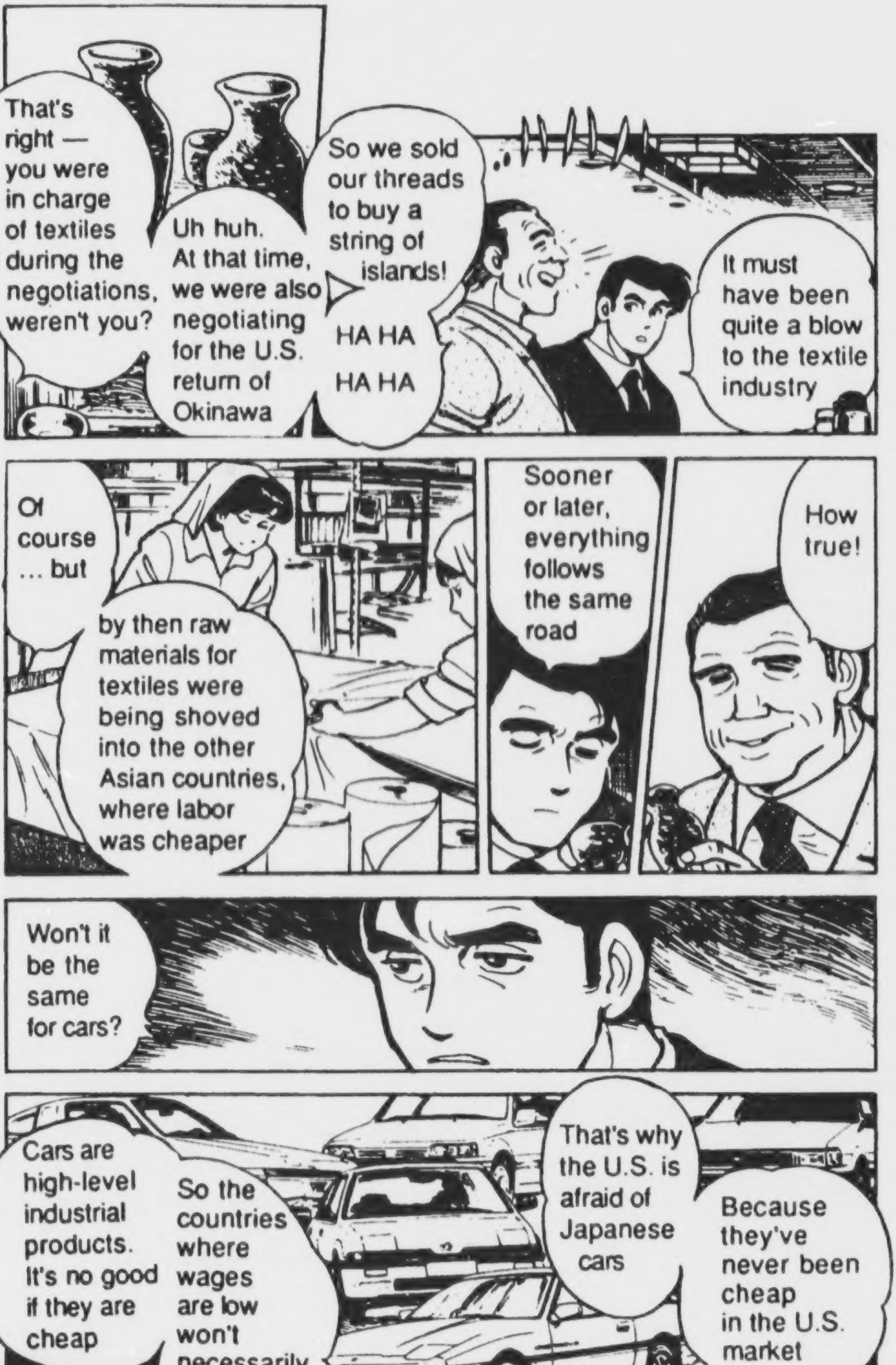

THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF TOYOSAN AUTOMOBILE CORPORATION
The plan is to blackmail the Japanese government into a self-restricting policy
If it looks like we are restricting exports of our own free will, there won't be any legal or political problems
When exports are restricted, there won't be enough Japanese cars on the American market
Naturally … prices will rise
Naturally! Those guys are pretty clever!
If prices go up, sales will go down. Chrysky's business is on the skids -- it'll get a break
Hmph!
It's only a stopgap measure
… …

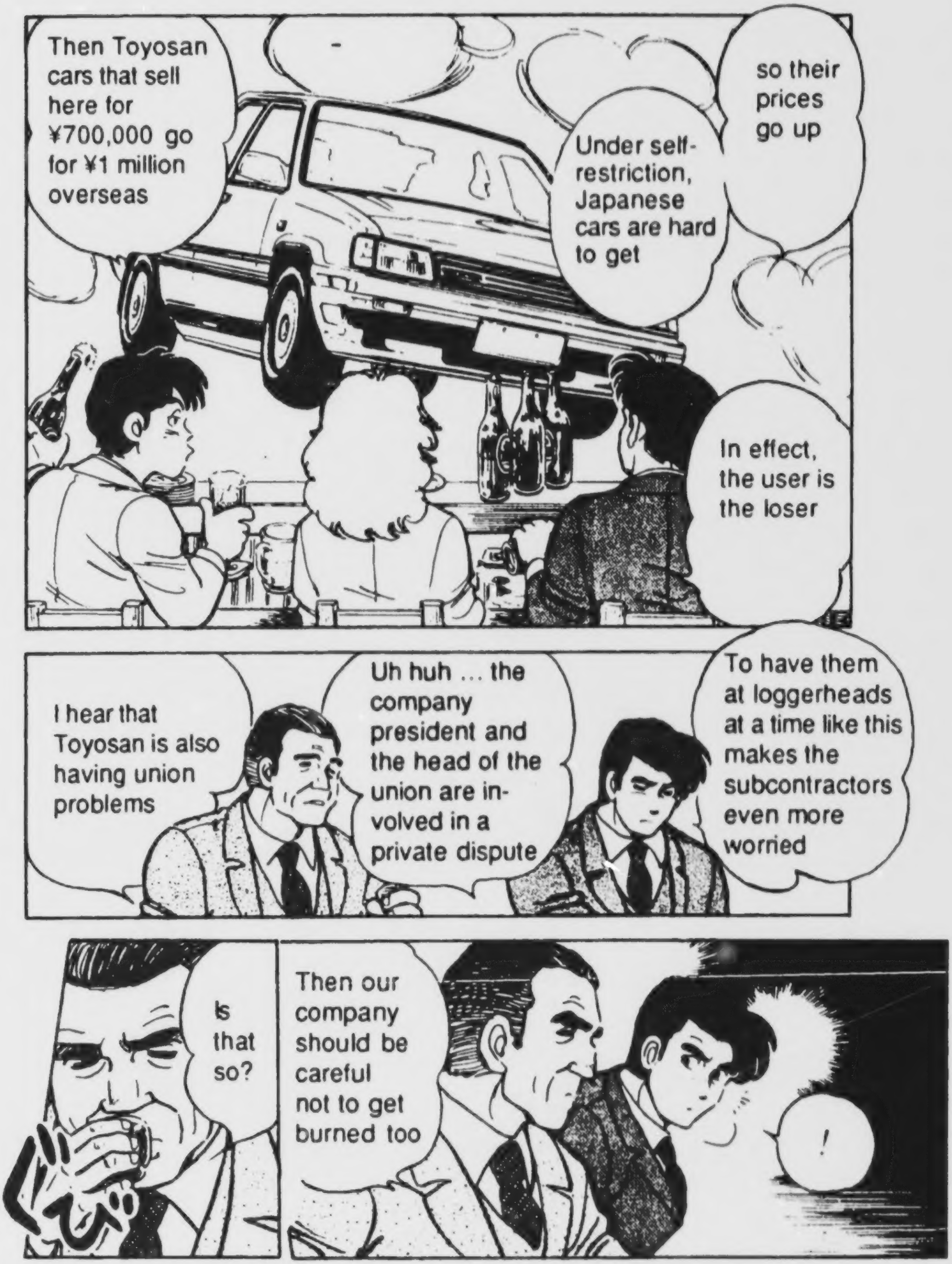
The U.S. trade deficit with Japan was less than $2 billion in the early 1970s. In the late 1970s, it increased to nearly $10 billion; in 1985, to nearly $50 billion.


Sir!
After self-restriction comes …
Local U.S. production?
Our rivals, Master Cars, are already beginning preparations. So are we …
It's needed to give U.S. workers jobs
But …
ガタ…
It's the same old problem, isn't it?
…
What I mean is, we're always
having to perform major surgery
Why don't you leave it to me?
Our affiliates have a sharp young employee — I'll see what he can come up with
In the Mitsutomo Company?

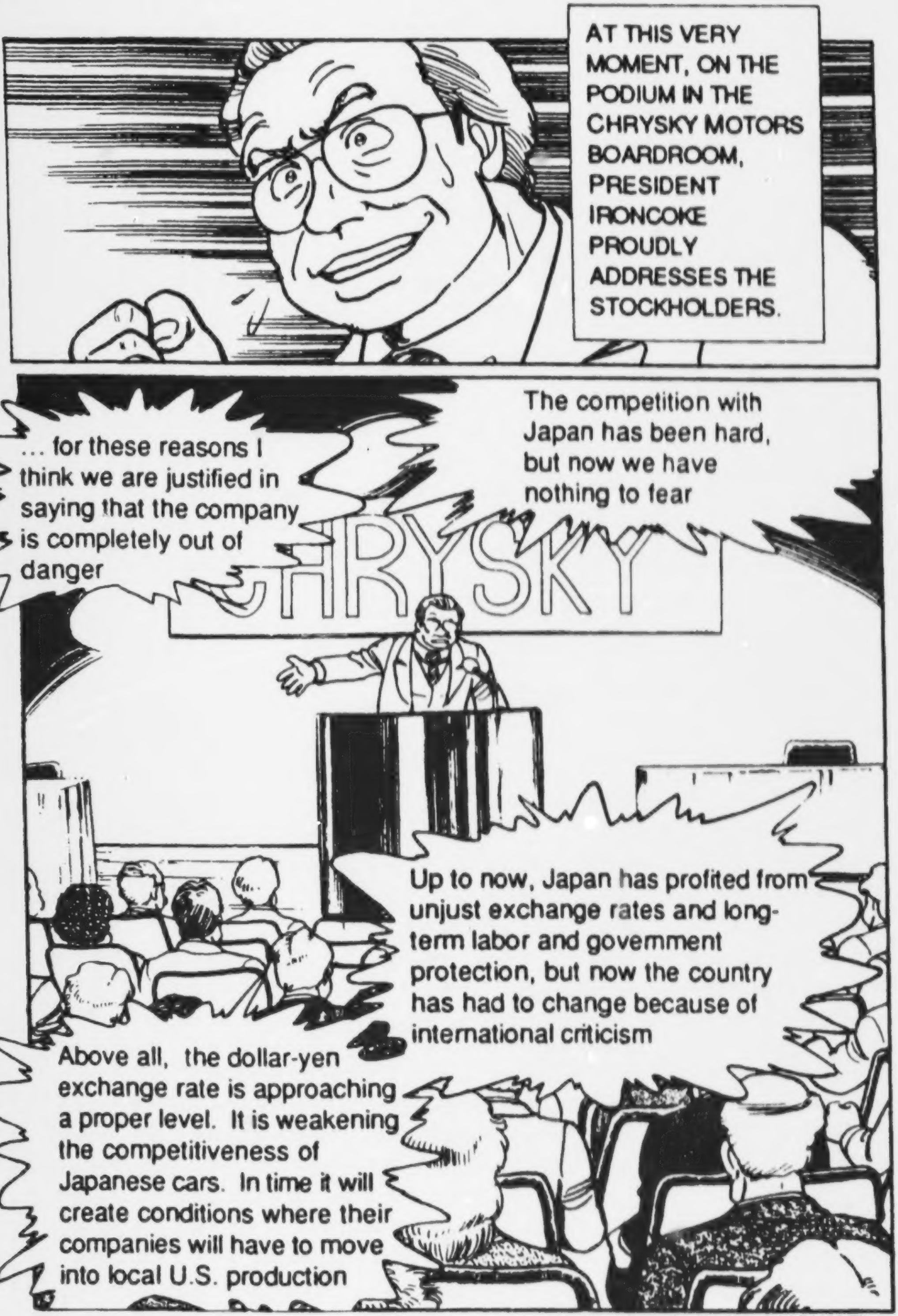
Half of all U.S. exports to Japan are foodstuffs and raw materials; the U.S. imports mainly machinery and vehicle parts from Japan. This pattern is typical of trade between developing and advanced nations — with the U.S. playing the part of the developing nation.


Kudo, why the long face?
What? Does it show that much?
And … I'll have …
I'll have a beer!
Well, it's because we've finally decided to restrict automobile exports
Is that so? It's always the same pattern, isn't it ? ... first, textiles and steel, then color TVs ...
The friction changes its focus, but nothing else
The U.S. demands and Japan still responds


That's right — you were in charge of textiles during the negotiations, weren't you?
Uh huh. At that time, we were also negotiating for the U.S. return of Okinawa
So we sold our threads to buy a string of islands!
HA HA HA HA
It must have been quite a blow to the textile industry
Of course … but
by then raw materials for textiles were being shoved into the other Asian countries, where labor was cheaper
Sooner or later, everything follows the same road
How true!
Won't it be the same for cars?
Cars are high-level industrial products. It's no good if they are cheap
So the countries where wages are low won't necessarily win out
That's why the U.S. is afraid of Japanese cars
Because they've never been cheap in the U.S. market


Then Toyosan cars that sell here for ¥700,000 go for ¥1 million overseas
Under self-restriction, Japanese cars are hard to get
so their prices go up
In effect, the user is the loser
I hear that Toyosan is also having union problems
Uh huh ... the company president and the head of the union are involved in a private dispute
To have them at loggerheads at a time like this makes the subcontractors even more worried
Is that so?
Then our company should be careful not to get burned too
!

A country's custom statistics form the basis for its export statistics. But the standards for the statistics are different in the U.S. and in Japan. The figures announced by Japan for its trade surplus with the U.S. and those announced by the U.S. for its trade deficit with Japan do not agree.


AT THIS VERY MOMENT, ON THE PODIUM IN THE CHRYSKY MOTORS BOARDROOM, PRESIDENT IRONCOKE PROUDLY ADDRESSES THE STOCKHOLDERS.
... for these reasons I think we are justified in saying that the company is completely out of danger
The competition with Japan has been hard, but now we have nothing to fear
CHRYSKY
Up to now, Japan has profited from unjust exchange rates and long-term labor and government protection, but now the country has had to change because of international criticism
Above all, the dollar-yen exchange rate is approaching a proper level. It is weakening the competitiveness of Japanese cars. In time it will create conditions where their companies will have to move into local U.S. production

From Shōtāro Ishinomori, *Japan, Inc.: Introduction to Japanese Economics (The Comic Book)*. Copyright ©1998 The Regents of the University of California. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988, pp. 3–36.

Japan's Global Role

By the 1970s Japan's spectacular economic success prompted other countries to urge it to take a more active role in the world. During the Cold War, which dominated international politics until the early 1990s, Japan, as an economic power, found it difficult to follow an independent foreign policy. But during the latter half of the twentieth century it slowly forged a greater global role for itself.

Although the alliance with the United States still held sway over its relations with the rest of the world, Japan strove to become a respected member of the international community. In 1956 it was granted membership in the United Nations, and the government made cooperation with the U.N. a priority of its foreign policy. Japan has become a leading financial contributor to the U.N., second only to the United States. The Japanese people also welcomed their country's participation in the U.N. because it embodied the principles of unarmed neutrality spelled out in Japan's 1947 Constitution. Labeled as defeated "enemy nations" after World War II, both Japan and Germany emerged as world powers and during the 1990s began to lobby for permanent membership in the U.N. Security Council. Japan was also included as an original member of the leading industrialized nations, now known as the "Group of Eight" (G–8), which meets annually to coordinate political and economic policies on global issues.

Japan After the Cold War

In a stunning series of events beginning in the spring of 1989, Communist governments in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union crumbled, heralding the end of the Cold War. In some areas of Asia, its end reduced tensions among the United States, Russia, and China and slightly eased prospects of military confrontation. The United States reduced its military presence but kept about 100,000 troops stationed in Asia—including 47,000 in Japan and 37,000 in South Korea. Japan became the dominant economic power in Asia, gradually replacing the United States as the largest source of economic aid and business investment.

A Japanese volunteer works as a public health nurse in Malaysia in the early 1990s. Besides sending financial aid to developing countries, Japan dispatched volunteers and specialists with technical expertise to help raise the standard of living and to build infrastructure projects. Courtesy of Japan International Cooperation Agency, Tōkyō.

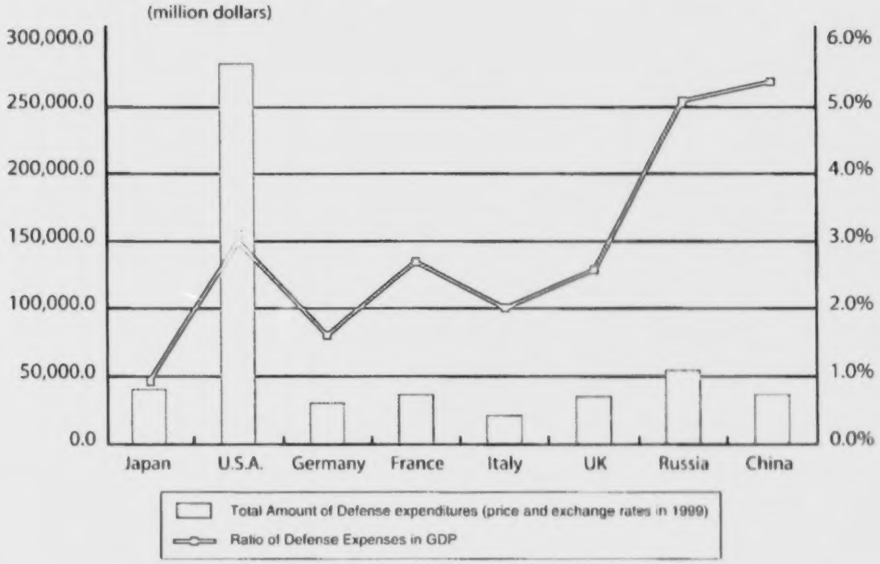
But the Japanese government has had to tread carefully in Asia. Memories of its brutal wartime conduct remain. Periodically, critics in Asian nations complained that Japanese activity in the region during the 1980s and 1990s seemed like a new economic "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," which was Japan's attempt during World War II to exploit the region's markets, materials, and labor force. (See Chapter 2, Section 3: "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.) Over time, however, such criticism became muted as Japan-funded construction and investment became crucial to the economic development of most Asian nations.

During the 1980s Japan increased its economic aid to other countries. By 1991 it had surpassed the United States as the world's largest donor of foreign aid. Japan directed most of its aid to Asia, becoming the largest single source of assistance for most Asian countries. Most of the aid went to large construction projects that built up the countries' infrastructure—roads, bridges, waterway improvements, communication networks, and energy production. The Japanese government also directed grants and loans to developing industry in these countries.

Article 9—The "No-War Clause"

In the 1990s Japan expanded its role in the global community by sending both money and personnel to countries recovering from war or natural disasters. Its officials acted in spite of the no-war clause

International Comparison of Defense Budgets as of 1999



Source: The Military Balance 2000/2001 Edition, The International Institute for Strategic Studies. 27 June 2001. (http://jin.jcic.or.jp/stat/stats/04DPL22.html).

Japan's defense expenditures totaled almost $37 billion as of 1999—about one percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP)—making it the world's third-highest military budget. By comparison, the United States spent close to $266 billion on military expenditures, about three percent of its GDP.

in its constitution that prohibited it from taking part in military actions overseas.

Japan's constitution, which took effect in May 1947, was a major force for democratizing Japan after World War II. Scholars, foreign observers, and the Japanese people themselves often identify Article 9—sometimes called the no-war clause—as the centerpiece of the 1947 Constitution. The article renounced war as a sovereign right of the nation and prohibited Japan forever from maintaining an army, navy, or air force. In essence, the Japanese government accepted the idea that it could not use armed forces as an element of its foreign policy. Article 9 reads,

> Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes.
>
> In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

Thoroughly disillusioned by wartime militarism and final defeat, the Japanese people embraced the pacifism embodied in Article 9. For most of the postwar period, polls consistently showed that public opinion opposed revising the constitution to allow Japan to rearm.

Over time, however, the Japanese government and the United States expanded their interpretations of Article 9. In 1950, following the outbreak of war in Korea, General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, ordered Japanese officials to create a 75,000-man National Police Reserve to defend Japan. The Japanese government then widened its interpretation of Article 9, claiming that it could maintain armed forces solely for defensive purposes. The police force eventually became known as Japan's Ground Self-Defense Force. Creation of air and maritime self-defense forces followed. So while Japan avoids calling its military an army (or navy, or air force), it does have well-equipped and well-trained ground, air, and maritime Self-Defense Forces (SDF), funded by the world's third-largest military budget.

In September 1992 Japan sent over a thousand members of its Self-Defense Forces to Cambodia to help a United Nations mission monitor a cease-fire, rebuild battle-damaged roads and bridges, and carry out democratic elections. Courtesy of Ohtaka/JIJI/PANA, Tōkyō.

Consequently, Japan took heavy criticism during the war in the Persian Gulf (1991), when it provided no active military support to a multinational force organized by the United States. In response to criticism, the Japanese government enacted a law in 1992 that permitted Japanese forces to participate in United Nations peacekeeping operations. The law allows Japanese forces to go abroad on international missions but limits them to noncombat roles and prohibits them from carrying live ammunition. In the 1990s Japanese contingents from the SDF helped U.N. forces build roads, monitor elections, and maintain cease-fires in Mozambique, Cambodia, and the Golan Heights. They also helped refugees in central Africa and hurricane victims in Honduras. In these ways, Japan has sought to contribute both to the international community and to comply with Article 9.

Activity: Points of View

In the following readings, individuals express their views about Article 9 and Japan's Self-Defense Forces. Although many complex issues and events are mentioned, concentrate on what each person says about Article 9 and whether the writer supports sending armed personnel overseas. After reading the selections, answer the questions.

Japanese Viewpoint A

The following opinion piece was written by a Japanese professor following the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

The government has trampled the constitution under foot in its rush to enlist Japanese forces in Washington's global strategy.

Ever since the [1990–91 Persian Gulf] crisis, Japan's leaders have tirelessly chanted "international cooperation." The drone of this invocation has mesmerized the nation into accepting the unacceptable: the first dispatch of Japanese troops overseas since World War II. . . .

Unfortunately, few people stopped to consider what all this hocus-pocus really means. The fact is that in today's world, "U.N. peacekeeping" is little more than a euphemism [substitution of a positive word for a negative word] for U.S. strong-arming. . . .

The historic declaration [of Article 9 of the Japanese constitution] is a protest against the all-too-common assumption that might makes right. Now we are in effect pledging our support to a country [the United States] that has never questioned this barbaric maxim in all its years as self-appointed global cop.

The Gulf War caused a large number of thinking people in Japan—myself included—to give up on America, a nation they had long admired. The American people themselves are to blame for this disenchantment.

The flag-waving and muscle-flexing that transfigured the United States during Operation Desert Storm[1] still sickens me. President [George H. W.] Bush's chauvinistic rhetoric won an appalling 70 percent of the public to his cause. . . .

Tokyo was squeezed for a cool $13 billion—about $100 for every Japanese citizen—and still browbeaten for not sending anyone to die in the desert. I was furious. Why should we be cowed by big-power blustering?

If anything, we should have been telling Americans that might isn't right. . . .

From Ueno Chizuko, "Japanese Legislators Betrayed Pacifism." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 22 July, 1992.

Japanese Viewpoint B

A Japanese housewife, concerned about events throughout the world, offered these comments in response to a survey question concerning the rearmament of Japan:

It bothers me when I hear the news about Japan rearming or sending troops to other countries. I think it's dangerous for Japan to rearm. I'm afraid of the sacrifices we would be forced to make again. We were defeated pretty badly last time. We caused a lot of suffering to other peoples and suffered, too.

If we rearm, all I can foresee is more destruction and more suffering.

From Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living, *Japanese Women in Turmoil: Changing Lifestyles in Japan*. Tōkyō: Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living, 1984, p. 116.

Japanese Viewpoint C

The writer of the following selection is an influential but controversial Japanese politician:

Today, those who object to the contribution of troops and other personnel to international peacekeeping efforts argue that Japan must adhere to its strict postwar refusal to send military personnel abroad. To do otherwise, the argument goes, would be to retread a familiar and tragic path. In truth, we do actually risk repeating history—but it is by our *lack* of leadership, by our *inability* to make political decisions that this is so. If we remain unable to make decisions, we will simply be dragged along by events; we will fail to make even humanitarian contributions to the outside world, and Japan will find itself isolated from the international community. Isolation is where the true danger lies. . . .

The fact is that, deep down, most Japanese want to be able to avoid that troublesome area called "foreign relations." They want to carry on with their peaceful and comfortable lives, and live with their age-old systems, practices, and customs without worries about the future. Simply put, the Japanese people want the luxury of reacting only when absolutely necessary, and want as little participation as possible in international society. . . .

Let us bear in mind what enabled Japan to become an "economic superpower." Let us remember that it was the existence of an international community based on the shared values of liberty and democracy that nurtured Japan's growth. . . . [I]f we want to maintain and enhance the prosperity we enjoy today, we must conform to the principles of international society and cooperate in order to bring about worldwide development. That is surely the path along which Japan's national interests lie. . . .

The term "international contribution" has been in vogue since the end of the Gulf War. It is a mistake, however, to interpret this term to mean that Japan makes contributions only to serve others, or that Japan is somehow being forced to cooperate with the international community. That presumptuous interpretation can only mean that people have forgotten the true nature of Japan's situation. Contributions may serve international society in useful ways, but they are vital to Japan itself. "International contributions" are essential to Japan's survival. . . .

[H]ow can Japan, which so depends on world peace and stability, seek to exclude a security role from its international contributions? For many people, the thought of Japan playing any sort of role in the security arena conjures up images of a rearmed, militarist Japan. But this is, quite simply, not an issue of militarization or aspirations to military superpower status. It is a question of Japan's responsible behavior in the international community. . . .

Paragraph 1 of Article 9 states that Japan "aspir[es] sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order." This means that Japan must actively fulfill its responsibilities by cooperating with other nations in the effort to defend justice, order, and peace in international society. What specific means should be taken? The United Nations, as the world's only global institution for peace, is the only possible instrument for this purpose. If Japan offers the SDF to the United Nations for participation in a U.N. reserve force for peace-keeping activities, it will not only be acting within the limits of the preamble and Article 9, it will be giving true life to the ideals expressed therein.

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[1] The name the U.S. military assigned to its operations in the Persian Gulf War.

From Ozawa Ichirō, *Blueprint for a New Japan: The Rethinking of a Nation*. Translated by Louisa Rubinfien. Edited by Eric Gower. Tōkyō: Kodansha International, 1994, pp. 25–26, 40–41, 94–95, and 109–110.

In 1997 Japan pledged to give support to the United States in case a crisis threatened Japan's peace and security. This agreement brought immediate protests from China because the promised support would extend to "areas surrounding Japan." Chinese officials suspected that the vague wording would allow Japan to back the United States if an armed conflict erupted between China and the disputed island of Taiwan. (See "Territorial Disputes" map on page 246.)

The following editorial commentary appeared in a Chinese newspaper that reports the Chinese government's official views.

Chinese Viewpoint

On May 22 [1998], . . . a high-ranking official with the Japanese Foreign Ministry told the Japanese Congress, or Diet, that Taiwan is included in the revised U.S.–Japan defense guidelines.

We hope that such a shocking statement from the Japanese official does not represent the stance of the Japanese Government.

If it does, it will surely damage Sino–Japanese relations.

Furthermore, it will pose new threats to the security environment of Asia. . . .

China is concerned that the defense accord between Japan and the United States is directed at China and might infringe upon China's sovereignty over Taiwan. . . .

Japan needs to reassure other countries in the region that it will not include other irrelevant territories in the defense areas of its military alliance with the United States.

Otherwise, U.S.–Japan military co-operation will surely be a negative factor rather than one that is conducive to regional peace and security.

However, China is deeply concerned that the statement of the Japanese official might be a reflection of a renewed Japanese ambition of becoming a world military power, which is banned by Japan's current constitution.

All Asian countries, and even the United States, should be cautious that Japan does not go beyond military activities stated in the U.S.–Japan defense accord.

From Yu Guoqiang, "Japan Threatens Security." *China Daily*, 26 May 1998.

Questions

1. Summarize each person's point of view on Article 9 and on whether Japan should send armed personnel overseas. Then create a title for each selection.
2. Do the individuals cited above support or oppose sending Japanese forces overseas? Why?
3. You have read four perspectives on Article 9 and the debate over sending Japanese forces overseas. Reread Article 9. Do you think Article 9 permits Japan to send its forces overseas? Do you think Japan should send armed personnel overseas? Why or why not?

Japan and Regional Tensions

China/Taiwan

The Communist government of the People's Republic of China on the Asian mainland and the Nationalist government—the Republic of China—on Taiwan have been at odds since 1949, when the Nationalists lost a civil war between the two and retreated across the Taiwan Straits. Over the years Taiwan has declared itself the sole legitimate government of all of China and has tried to conduct most of its political, economic, and social affairs as such. But the People's Republic considers Taiwan a renegade province and has reserved the right to use force to return it to Beijing's control.

The Communist Chinese government has demanded that other nations follow a "one China" policy. In line with this policy, most nations—including Japan—have accorded their highest level of diplomatic recognition to the government in Beijing. Yet they also maintain extensive "unofficial" relations with Taiwan, especially in commercial trade. China is an important member of the United Nations, holding a seat as one of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. Taiwan is not a member of the U.N. but has sought to raise its international profile by pushing for membership in the U.N. and the World Trade Organization.

China has reacted with outrage to Taiwan's efforts to raise its international status and to declarations by some Taiwan politicians that it deserves diplomatic recognition as an independent nation. Beijing has conducted high-profile military maneuvers, dispatched warplanes, and even test-fired missiles near Taiwan to demonstrate its determination to squelch any moves for its independence.

If hostilities were to break out between China and Taiwan, the United States would probably respond. Despite its official recognition of China, the United States is committed to defending Taiwan against an attack from mainland China.

The involvement of the United States in any conflict between China and Taiwan would present a critical dilemma for Japan. Under the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, Japan is obligated to back American forces in emergencies that may unfold in unspecified "areas surrounding Japan." Some experts think that the United States would pressure Japan to help in a China–Taiwan conflict. But such an event would seriously challenge Japan's constitutional ban on using force and dispatching its Self-Defense Forces overseas. The Japanese public has expressed its passionate opposition to the possibility of the SDF's engaging in armed conflict.

North Korea

The hard-line Communist nation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—commonly known as North Korea—has maintained a strict isolationism since the Korean war ended in 1953. Its government wields harsh authority over North Korean society, sealing it off almost completely from foreign contact except for ties with a few Communist nations. The government's policy of self-sufficiency was tested during the 1990s, when floods and food shortages grew so brutal that North Korea accepted food donated by foreign countries. Its economy is also struggling. It is deeply in debt, and even its Communist ally China has cut trade and economic aid.

Despite its economic difficulties, North Korea's military is considered a threat to the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asia. North and South Korea—officially the Republic of Korea—never signed a peace treaty ending the Korean war, instead signing an armistice ending hostilities. The 38th parallel—the world's most heavily armed border— divides North and South Korea, with a demilitarized zone stretching across the peninsula. North Korea maintains a force of a million troops at high readiness. The South Korean military numbers over 600,000, and 37,000 U.S. troops are stationed in South Korea specifically to deter an attack by North Korea.

North Korea has kept the rest of the world off balance. At times it has issued bellicose threats; at other times it has shown itself able to join in civil diplomatic discussions. Over the years there have been many incidents involving North Korean spies, tunnels dug under the demilitarized zone, vessels navigating into South Korean and Japanese waters, political defections, and assassinations of high-ranking South Korean officials. During the 1990s North Korea's weapons program, especially its efforts to build nuclear weapons and long-range missiles, alarmed South Korea, Japan, and the rest of Asia. In 1998 North Korea stunned Japan when it test-fired a ballistic missile over Japanese airspace, fueling fear that it was manufacturing missiles that could reach South Korea, Japan, and even the United States.

South Korea, Japan, and the United States have made efforts to discourage North Korea from developing weapons. The North Korean missile test spurred Japan to join with the United States in researching an antimissile defense system for the region. Japan has contributed food aid and billions of dollars in its attempt to persuade the North Korean government to suspend its weapons program.

If a conflict were to break out between the two Koreas, Japan would face a momentous challenge.

Despite its constitutional restraints and the fervent pacifism of the Japanese public, the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty calls for Tōkyō to support American forces. Japan would be pushed to assist not only by supplying U.S. forces and acting as a base of operations but also by committing troops.

Coming to Terms with the Past

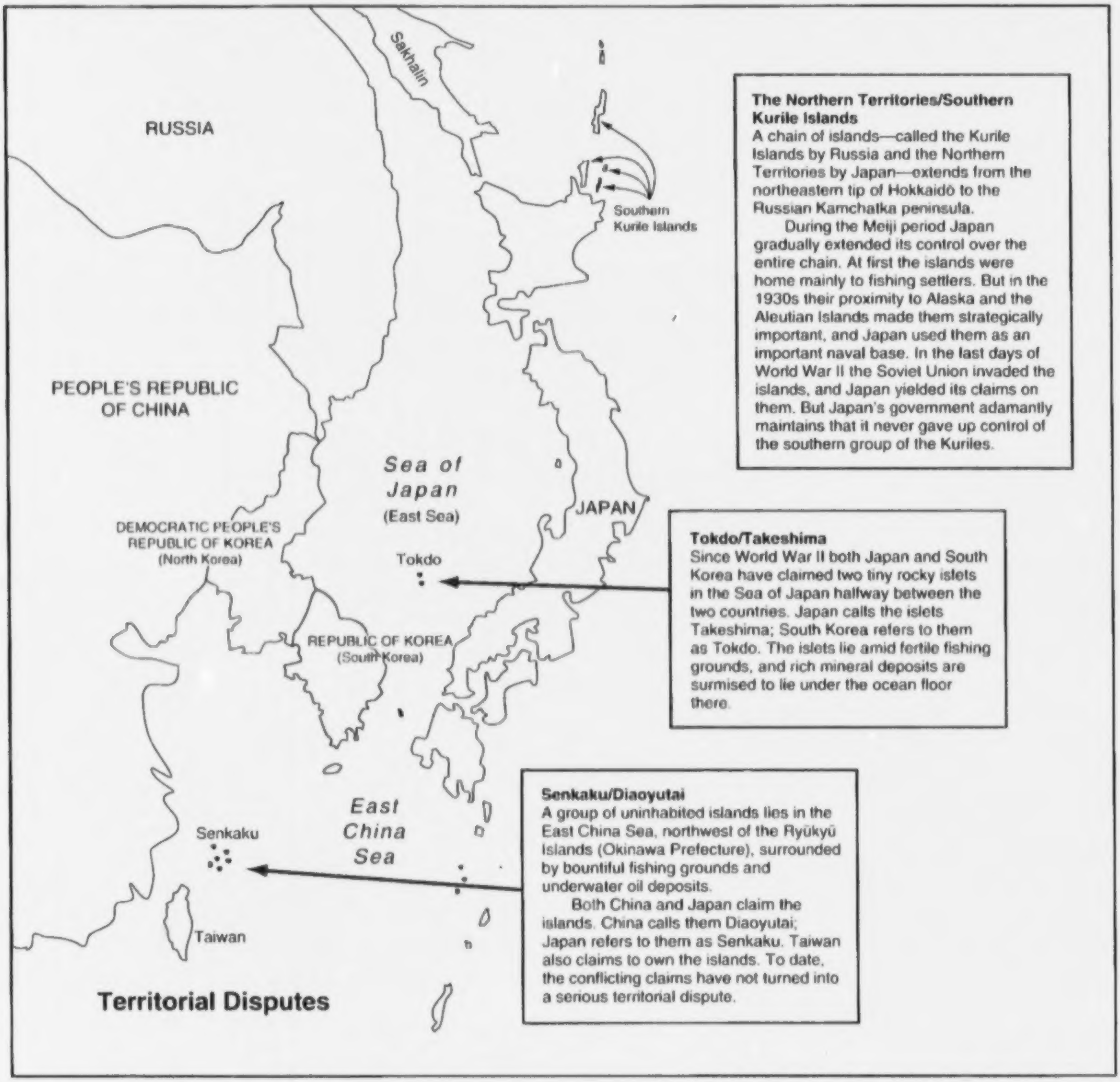
Although World War II ended decades ago, old wounds inflicted by imperial Japan on some Asian nations have been slow to heal. Japan's militarist past in particular still affects present-day relations with Korea, annexed by Japan in 1910, and China, invaded by Japan in 1937. These nations claim that Japan has yet to acknowledge the full extent of the suffering its colonial policies and military actions inflicted on their people. The Chinese point to the Nanjing Massacre and to medical experiments on human guinea pigs carried out by the infamous Unit 730 as examples of large-scale war atrocities that Japan has not fully owned up to yet. As topics Japan has been reluctant to discuss, Koreans bring up the tens of thousands of young Korean women abducted for use as "comfort women" by Japanese soldiers, and the over one million Koreans forcibly taken to Japan to work as forced labor in mines and factories during the war.

For over fifty years China and Korea demanded that Japanese leaders stop downplaying and justifying their country's colonial and wartime brutality and apologize for it instead. Over the years the Japanese government did express regret for a "mistaken national policy" of "colonialism and aggression" but stopped short of using the word "apology"—something that China and Korea had demanded. Both countries felt that Japan, by not formally apologizing for its actions, was in effect downplaying their severity or denying they ever occurred.

Finally, in 1998, South Korean president Kim Dae-jung visited Tokyo and met with Prime Minister Obuchi, who expressed Japan's "remorseful repentance and heartfelt apology." President Kim accepted the apology and responded that it was now time for Korea and Japan to put the past behind them and work for a "future-oriented relationship." (Encouraged by Obuchi's remarks, Chinese President Zhang Zemin, who arrived in Japan soon after Kim's visit—the first-ever visit by a Chinese head of state—asked for a written apology. Japan refused, saying that only an oral "apology" similar to Kim's would be offered.) After Kim's visit, Japan–Korea relations markedly improved. Korea ended a ban on Japanese cultural imports—movies, magazines, music, *anime*— that had been in effect since the war ended in 1945, and the two nations agreed to co-host the soccer World Cup in 2002.

But only a few years after Kim had called for a future-oriented relationship, the past disrupted Japan–Korea relations once again. The conflict this time centered on the contents of a Japanese junior high school history textbook. In 2001 the Japanese Ministry of Education, which selects books that may be used in schools, approved a controversial history text written by nationalist historians. The historians who wrote *A New History and Civics Textbook* said they wanted to build a stronger sense of patriotism in Japanese children by presenting a new view of Japanese colonialism and military actions in Asia during the first half of the twentieth century. These authors believe that Japan was forced into World War II and that events like the Nanjing Massacre or Japan's colonial rule in Korea have been blown out of proportion or seen only in an anti-Japan light. Critics in Korea, China, and Taiwan said the authors were guilty of whitewashing Japanese atrocities and ignoring, distorting, or misinterpreting historical facts to make Japan look better.

Controversy surrounding Japanese history textbooks has raged for years. Korea along with other Asian nations had vehemently protested the contents of earlier Japanese history textbooks in the 1960s and 1980s. But the Koreans assumed that Japan's formal apology in 1998 had solved the question of Japan's guilt for the war and thirty-five years of harsh colonial rule in their country. It's not surprising then that South Korea reacted strongly when the Japanese government approved the new text. The good will built up between the two nations during the previous three years quickly evaporated. The South Korean government recalled its ambassador, postponed a joint naval exercise with Japan, and established a commission to look into inaccuracies in other Japanese history textbooks. Politicians staged hunger strikes, Japanese web


Sakhalin
RUSSIA
Southern Kurile Islands
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
Sea of Japan (East Sea)
JAPAN
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA (North Korea)
Tokdo
REPUBLIC OF KOREA (South Korea)
East China Sea
Senkaku
Taiwan

Territorial Disputes

The Northern Territories/Southern Kurile Islands
A chain of islands—called the Kurile Islands by Russia and the Northern Territories by Japan—extends from the northeastern tip of Hokkaidō to the Russian Kamchatka peninsula.

During the Meiji period Japan gradually extended its control over the entire chain. At first the islands were home mainly to fishing settlers. But in the 1930s their proximity to Alaska and the Aleutian Islands made them strategically important, and Japan used them as an important naval base. In the last days of World War II the Soviet Union invaded the islands, and Japan yielded its claims on them. But Japan's government adamantly maintains that it never gave up control of the southern group of the Kuriles.

Tokdo/Takeshima
Since World War II both Japan and South Korea have claimed two tiny rocky islets in the Sea of Japan halfway between the two countries. Japan calls the islets Takeshima; South Korea refers to them as Tokdo. The islets lie amid fertile fishing grounds, and rich mineral deposits are surmised to lie under the ocean floor there.

Senkaku/Diaoyutai
A group of uninhabited islands lies in the East China Sea, northwest of the Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa Prefecture), surrounded by bountiful fishing grounds and underwater oil deposits.

Both China and Japan claim the islands. China calls them Diaoyutai; Japan refers to them as Senkaku. Taiwan also claims to own the islands. To date, the conflicting claims have not turned into a serious territorial dispute.

sites related to the controversy crashed under cyber attack from incensed Koreans, and a pop star made a music video expressing the anger that young Koreans felt.

Despite their growing economic interdependence with Japan, both China and Korea worry about Japan's long-term intentions in East Asia. They point to remarks made by some Japanese politicians and historians as the beginning of a return to prewar Japanese nationalism. And while over fifty years may seem long enough for memories and hatreds to fade, some of Japan's neighbors still hold deep-rooted suspicions of the island nation.

Questions

1. What kind of problems would war between China and Taiwan or war between North Korea and South Korea cause for Japan?

2. Why is a formal apology from Japan for its actions during World War II so important to China and Korea?
3. Is it right for a nation to write its own history so that its citizens feel more patriotic?

Domestic Tensions with International Implications

Okinawa

Okinawa is the largest island in the Ryūkyūs, a chain of islands southwest of Japan. The relationship between Japan and the Ryūkyūs has been long, complex, and often acrimonious. Although Okinawa is home to a people who are racially and culturally related to the majority Japanese, Okinawa acquired a unique status stemming from its historic role as a trading center and semi-independent kingdom that paid tribute to China. Later, during the Tokugawa period, it came under the loose control of a powerful domain in Kyūshū. Since 1879 the Ryūkyūs have been considered part of Japan. But Okinawa, in particular, continues to be a party in longstanding disputes with Japan proper and the United States.

From the closing stages of World War II to the present, Okinawa has been the setting for some tense, tragic, and controversial interactions between Japanese and Americans. During the Battle of Okinawa (see Chapter 3, Section 2, "World War II," *[Civilian D, Battle of Okinawa]*, the last major battle of the Pacific war, desperate Japanese forces made their last stand to stave off what they feared would be an American invasion of the main Japanese islands. About 250,000 Japanese perished, including over 100,000 Okinawan civilians. An estimated 12,500 Americans also died in the battle.

Following Japan's surrender, Okinawa was put under American control as part of the American occupation. Sizable U.S. military contingents appropriated some of Okinawa's prime agricultural land as bases for American forces stationed in East Asia. Although the San Francisco Peace Treaty (1951) recognized Japan's nominal sovereignty over Okinawa, the U.S. military actually exercised tight and absolute day-to-day control over the Ryūkyūs.

The significant role of outsiders in local Okinawan political and economic matters continued with the constant intervention and influence of the U.S. military, Japan's central government, and Japanese investors. In the 1950s the onset of the Cold War in East Asia made Okinawa critical to U.S. foreign policy. The main function of American troops stationed in Okinawa changed from demilitarizing a defeated Japan to preventing Communist forces from attacking Japan. When the Korean war (1950–1953) began, Okinawa became the major base of operations for American troops.

The substantial American presence on Okinawa has had mixed effects on its people. Okinawa's strategic importance prompted the United States to pour massive amounts of money into the islands, rebuilding their devastated communications and transportation systems more quickly than the Japanese government would have been able to. As America built its military bases, many Okinawans found work as civilian workers on them or in the industries serving the Americans.

More often, however, the negative impact of the American presence outweighed its positive effects. During the 1950s American officials began taking more land for military use. The Americans drew up contracts to lease land from Okinawan farmers but gave them no say on the terms of the leases or the size of the rent payments. When the farmers refused the payment offers, American officials had them removed by force and ordered their homes bulldozed. Most of the farmers finally consented to an agreement in 1958.

Tight control by the U.S. government also proved burdensome for Okinawans. Although they were given a limited degree of representation in local government, military demands took priority over all else. The American administration sometimes voided the results of Okinawan elections, put down labor unrest, and vetoed bills it considered unfavorable to American interests.

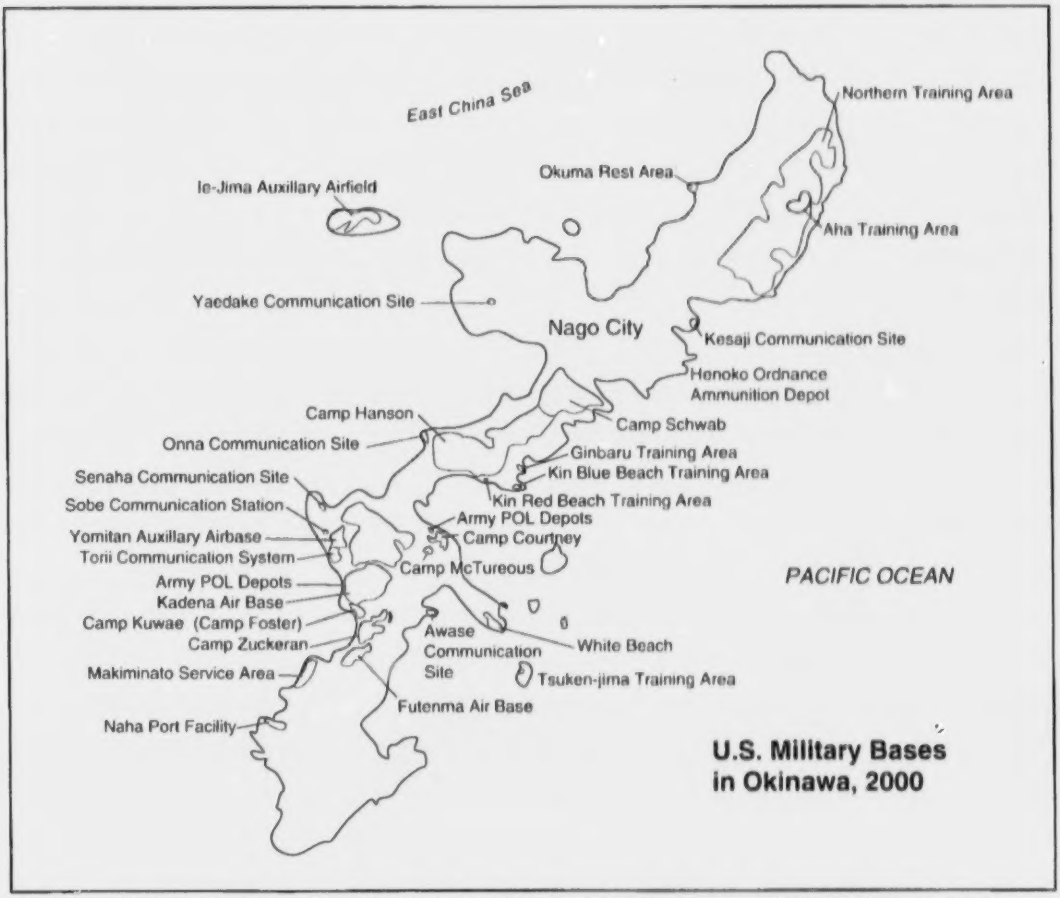
The American occupation of mainland Japan ended in 1952, but Okinawa remained under American control. Finally, in 1972, the United States formally allowed the "reversion," or return of control, of Okinawa to Japan. Okinawa once again became Japan's forty-seventh prefecture and got a more representative local government.

Although Okinawa reverted to Japanese control, the American military bases remained. By 2001 American soldiers and military bases had occupied Okinawa for over fifty years. Although Okinawa accounts for less than one percent of Japan's land area, in 2001 it was host to about 75 percent of American military forces stationed in Japan. American military bases and facilities occupy a fifth of Okinawa prefecture's main island. Military expenditures are second only to tourism in income feeding Okinawa's economy.

A history of bitter experiences has convinced many Okinawans that Japan's central government gives higher priority to national issues than to Okinawa's welfare. Without question, the cramped, uneasy co-existence of American soldiers and Okinawan civilians has exacted a toll over the years. The heavily guarded bases on valuable land and the constant presence of American servicemen are daily reminders of American occupancy. Military training accidents, noise pollution, and crimes committed by American servicemen have roused the ire of Okinawans.

Yet the situation is complicated. While many argue that the American presence has impeded Okinawa's economic growth, others—including the landowners whose land underlies the bases—have profited from the rents they get from the U.S. government.

In 1995 a shocking crime—along with the central government's preoccupation with keeping American bases concentrated in Okinawa—heightened the Okinawans' historic mistrust of Japanese authorities. In September of that year, the rape of a


East China Sea
Northern Training Area
Okuma Rest Area
Ie-Jima Auxillary Airfield
Aha Training Area
Yaedake Communication Site
Nago City
Kesaji Communication Site
Henoko Ordnance Ammunition Depot
Camp Hanson
Camp Schwab
Onna Communication Site
Ginbaru Training Area
Kin Blue Beach Training Area
Senaha Communication Site
Sobe Communication Station
Kin Red Beach Training Area
Army POL Depots
Yomitan Auxillary Airbase
Camp Courtney
Torii Communication System
Camp McTureous
PACIFIC OCEAN
Army POL Depots
Kadena Air Base
Camp Kuwae (Camp Foster)
Awase Communication Site
White Beach
Camp Zuckeran
Makiminato Service Area
Tsuken-jima Training Area
Futenma Air Base
Naha Port Facility

U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa, 2000

Adapted from Geography Department, University of California at Berkeley (http//www.geography.edu/JEE/okinawa/mapimage.html).

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怒りこめて
沖縄米兵の少女暴行事件
の廃

In September 1995, Okinawan women protested the rape of a twelve-year-old girl, allegedly by three U.S. servicemen. The banner reads, "U.S. military, don't be savage." Courtesy of AP/Wide World Photos, New York.

twelve-year-old girl by three American servicemen created a furor throughout Japan. In October, weeks of angry protests against the slow prosecution of the case, and against the prolonged presence of American bases, culminated in a massive rally. Thousands of landowners refused to renew the leases to the land under the military bases. Despite pressure from the central government in Tōkyō, Ōta Masahide, then the governor of Okinawa, supported the resistant landowners, leading to calls for the United States and Japan to move the bases out of Okinawa. In the end the Japanese prime minister overruled Ōta and the landowners signed documents to renew the leases. American and Japanese officials eventually worked out a compromise to return some land from the bases to the Okinawan government.

Koreans in Japan

Discriminatory treatment by the Japanese government against Korean residents over the years has often been an obstacle to better relations between Japan and South and North Korea. Korean residents have been treated as outsiders in Japan, even those who have lived there for generations. During Japan's colonization of Korea from 1910 to 1945, over four million Koreans lived and worked in Japan or Japan-held territories, some of them for several years. In the 1930s and 1940s over a million Koreans were forcibly brought to Japan to perform heavy labor, and an estimated 240,000 were drafted into the Imperial army or forced to work as civilian laborers at military sites. About 100,000 Koreans were in Hiroshima and Nagasaki when atom bombs fell on the two cities near the end of the war. And tens of thousands of Korean girls and women were forced to become "comfort women" during World War II.

Although the government used the Koreans' status as Japanese subjects to help the war effort, it largely abandoned them afterward. In 1945, Koreans living in Japan were stripped of their right to vote in elections. When the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect in 1952, the government stripped Koreans of their Japanese nationality without offering them a choice of Japanese or Korean nationality. The government did not extend medical care to Korean victims of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings until the 1970s. And it did not acknowledge its role in the "comfort women" system until the late 1990s, when scholars revealed documents exposing official involvement.

After the war many Koreans returned home, but over 500,000 remained in Japan. The 1952 peace treaty ending the war officially designated them as foreigners, even though many had immigrated before the war and had children born and raised in Japan. In 1999 there were 637,000 Korean residents of Japan, the vast majority born and raised there.

Most Koreans have not applied for Japanese citizenship because doing so would require them to

In 1999 a teacher stands beneath portraits of the current and former leaders of North Korea at a high school for Koreans in Japan. Permanent resident Koreans often send their children to special schools whose sympathies lie with North or South Korea. The schools receive no financial support from the government of Japan, and graduates of these schools are not allowed to take the entrance examinations at some Japanese universities. Courtesy Nicholas D. Kristof, The New York Times, *New York.*

give up their Korean names and take Japanese names. Furthermore, taking Japanese names does not ensure job security; many Koreans who adopted Japanese names were later fired from jobs in business firms after their identities were revealed.

Korean residents also suffer educational discrimination. Many students who attend Korean schools are not permitted to take entrance examinations for Japanese universities.

It was only in 1990 that the government ended the requirement that all Koreans be fingerprinted, and even then the law applied only to grandchildren of those who were registered residents in 1971. By 1992 the fingerprint requirement was dropped for all permanent foreign residents, including Koreans. Yet even at the turn of the new century, the government still required them to carry "alien registration cards" and to report changes of residence and employment. Although Koreans in Japan have made strides in dismantling barriers, they still face political, economic, and social discrimination.

Questions

1. How has the U.S. military presence affected Okinawa both positively and negatively?
2. How are Koreans discriminated against in Japan? Why do you think this might influence relations between Japan and North and South Korea?

"Outsiders" in Japan

In addition to its own rich native traditions, Japan has succeeded brilliantly at borrowing and adapting the technology and cultures of other countries. On the other hand, it has been reluctant to accept outsiders, or those who are noticeably different, setting strictly controlled conditions for their participation in Japanese society. As a result, Japan has had a mixed record of coping with minorities and groups outside the mainstream of Japanese culture.

Over 96 percent of Japan's total population of 127 million people is ethnically Japanese. Its population is thus much more homogeneous, or all alike, than the populations of most other nations. Most citizens think that Japan is completely homogeneous; this commonly held belief is not completely accurate.

The way of calculating statistics for Japan's minorities and foreign residents is complicated and controversial. The only group Japan officially recognizes as a minority is the Ainu, most of whom live on Hokkaidō, Japan's northernmost island. Since Okinawans and *burakumin*—descendants of a former outcast class— are Japanese citizens, they are not considered minority groups. Furthermore, Japan officially counts its ethnic Korean and Chinese inhabitants as "permanent foreign residents," even though many of them have lived in Japan for generations. Permanent Korean residents, for example, many of them born in Japan, number over 600,000, the largest such group of "foreigners."

Although the status of outsider groups in Japan has gradually improved, discrimination has long set them apart and denied them the rights held by the majority population.

Burakumin

Burakumin (literally "hamlet people"), members of Japan's former outcast class, were estimated to number between one and three million people in the 1990s. Physically, they appear no different from other Japanese; they also speak the same language. The *burakumin* are a minority group that has inherited its low societal status from ancestors who were believed to be outlaws or who labored as butchers, tanners, shoemakers, and related occupations considered unclean in Buddhist and Shintō belief systems. Discrimination against the *burakumin* dates back to the Tokugawa period, when their predecessors—the *eta* ("great filth") and *hinin* ("nonhumans")—were declared outcasts and confined to segregated neighborhoods. Until recent decades, their housing, schools, temples, and shrines suffered from a lack of funds and were noticeably more dilapidated than those in other Japanese neighborhoods.

Historically, over half of the *burakumin* population has lived in western Japan, especially in the Kyōtō–Ōsaka area. Statistics show lower family income levels, lower educational achievement levels, and higher rates of illegal activity among *burakumin*.

Although the Meiji government officially eliminated class distinctions in 1871, and although equality was extended officially to all Japanese citizens after World War II, individuals and institutions in Japan still discriminate against the *burakumin*. Until 1976 many Japanese companies required job applicants to provide copies of their family registries—official records of family history that all Japanese maintain. The officially sanctioned classifications identifying individuals from *burakumin* families remained on the family registries, allowing companies to identify and reject *burakumin* applicants. Even after a law was passed to prevent companies from demanding the registries, private lists identifying *buraku* neighborhoods circulated among companies determined to circumvent the law.

As late as the mid-1970s, some Japanese companies obtained or kept lists of burakumin *and declined to hire them. This company's list of* burakumin *is labeled "Personnel Affairs, Top Secret." Courtesy of Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute, Ōsaka City.*

Copies of these private lists affect more than just employment; they can exact a heart-rending toll on marriage. Many families and matchmakers hire private detective agencies to investigate the background of a prospective son- or daughter-in-law to guard against the slightest taint of physical or social stigma—such as disease, criminal activity, or minority status. Many families have broken off engagements after uncovering evidence that their son or daughter's potential spouse was of *burakumin* origin.

Because they are physically indistinguishable from other Japanese, many *burakumin* have tried to hide their outcast status. But in so doing they have cut themselves off from *burakumin* communities. Even as they live in constant fear of being exposed, they are subjected to criticism by other *burakumin*, who consider them traitors.

Ainu

The Ainu, the indigenous people of Hokkaidō, descended from the Jōmon people of Japan's Neolithic period. The Ainu once inhabited northern Honshū but were driven off during the late eighth and ninth centuries.

Throughout history, Japan's central governments have waged campaigns to subdue, and later assimilate, the Ainu. When the Meiji government brought Hokkaidō under its control in 1868, it established Japanese settlements there and attempted to develop the northern region's economy. The government took control of the land from the Ainu, who had no concept of private ownership. Deprived of their traditional hunting and fishing rights, the Ainu struggled to make their living through farming. Ainu numbers plunged as they fell victim to disease and social problems.

The government implemented assimilationist policies, designed to force the Ainu into adopting Japanese culture, much as the U.S. government had done earlier with native Americans. It banned Ainu cultural practices and required Ainu children to learn Japanese in school.

In the 1990s the Ainu people numbered at least 25,000, most living in Hokkaidō. Although Ainu activists have tried for years to preserve their language, songs, legends, and way of life, their efforts have been a race against time as few Ainu steeped in their own culture are still alive. With government funding to advance Ainu education, health, and welfare, the Ainu's standard of living has inched upward slightly. Yet the Ainu still lag behind most Japanese in income, health, and professional and educational achievement.

While a hardy core of activists has struggled to foster a sense of Ainu consciousness, other Ainu have assimilated into mainstream Japanese culture. But assimilation has raised another set of problems. Most Japanese have clung to the myth of Japan's supposed racial and cultural purity. They do not consider the Ainu "pure" Japanese and still tend to look down on them.

Okinawans

In the 1990s about 1.3 million Okinawans were living in the Okinawan chain of islands, another 300,000 in other parts of Japan. Okinawans have been citizens of Japan since 1879, and many Japanese do not think of them as a minority.

But the prevailing notion of Japanese racial and linguistic oneness causes many majority Japanese to view with curiosity Okinawans' distinct cultural heritage—manifested in their language, music, and certain cultural practices. Some of the social stigma carried by Okinawans came from the role of pork in their livelihood and diet. Contact with pigs lowered their status in the eyes of Japanese, who disdained contact with and consumption of pork.

Okinawans take pride in their distinctive culture, which reflects the influences of its Asian neighbors and its ancient trade relations with them, a history different from that of Japan's main islands. Recently, however, traditional Okinawan music, culture, and even diet have gained popularity in mainstream Japanese society.

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早く実現せよ

In March 1992 the Ainu Association of Hokkaidō organized a demonstration in Tōkyō to call for the passage of a law to protect Ainu language and culture. Participants wearing traditional Ainu dress carry a banner heralding 1993 as the "International Year of Indigenous Peoples." A law supporting the promotion of Ainu language and culture was finally enacted in 1997. However, many Ainu were unhappy with the law because it contained no protection from discrimination, nor acknowledgment that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of Hokkaidō. Courtesy of Ainu Association of Hokkaidō, Japan.

Strangers at Home

In the 1990s a wave of *Nikkeijin*—second- and third-generation descendants of Japanese who had left Japan years before—came to Japan to work. In 1985 changes in immigration law created a new category of "long-term" residence specifically for South Americans of Japanese descent, mostly from Brazil and Peru. By 1998 over 200,000 Brazilians and over 40,000 Peruvians had immigrated to Japan. Government officials thought that because their families had originally come from Japan, the *Nikkeijin* would adapt easily to Japanese society and help preserve the country's supposed racial homogeneity.

Hence *Nikkeijin* enjoy somewhat higher status than other immigrant laborers in Japan because they share the racial heritage of the majority population. Early South American migrants to Japan were mostly male, low-income ex-farmers; more recent waves of *Nikkeijin* have been highly educated middle-class immigrants, able to secure higher-paying manufacturing and service industry jobs while illegal immigrants worked at lower-paying jobs. By 1994 migrant workers were sending an estimated $2 billion a year back to their families in Brazil.[2]

Most *Nikkeijin* live in the industrial belt on Japan's eastern side, running from Gunma Prefecture to Mie Prefecture, home to many subcontractors of the giant manufacturing companies. In a few cases local governments launched special efforts to integrate the immigrants into Japanese society—translating information on essential health and civic information, assigning Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking personnel to help them with the alien registration process, and offering Japanese-language classes for their children.

But despite their elevated status, *Nikkeijin* share experiences similar to their fellow migrant workers. When a prolonged recession took hold in Japan in the 1990s, many *Nikkeijin* and unskilled immigrant workers lost their jobs or had their wages slashed by small and medium-sized subcontractors devastated by the economic downturn.

Changes in immigration law have not altered notions of racial and ethnic homogeneity held by many Japanese. Most foreign workers work for small or medium-sized family-run companies that depend on cheap labor. These workers, unfamiliar with Japanese language, customs, and labor laws, are often exploited by their employers. Even *Nikkeijin* have a limited understanding of the Japanese language and culture; many have had to cope with discrimination, exploitation, and culture shock as other foreign workers have.

Foreign Workers

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s Japan became a magnet for unskilled workers from abroad. Immigrants, both legal and illegal, have filled the jobs that native Japanese refer to as "demanding," "dirty," or "dangerous."

Japan's aging population and declining birthrate had led to a serious labor shortage, which the government acknowledged in 1990. It amended the immigration laws to admit more foreign workers. By 1991 an estimated 500,000 unskilled workers—one percent of the Japanese workforce—were foreigners. As their numbers grew, these workers became a visible reminder of the stupendous changes facing Japan's society and economy.

Many foreign workers are illegal immigrants who stay in Japan longer than allowed by their visa.[3] Beginning in the 1970s, Asian women—the vast majority from the Philippines—entered the Japanese entertainment industry. Most entered legally as singers or dancers but remained in Japan after their visas expired, working as bar hostesses or prostitutes. In the latter half of the 1980s many illegal male workers entered from Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Philippines, Korea, Iran, and Malaysia. By the late 1990s, however, Brazilians—many of Japanese descent—were the largest immigrant group in Japan. Because most of them had no technical or professional skills, they took low-paying factory and construction jobs.

Japan's labor shortage has also transformed foreign students and company trainees into an important source of labor. Although prohibited by law from working more than a fixed number of hours, foreign students and trainees actually make up a crucial source of cheap labor for small to medium-size firms.

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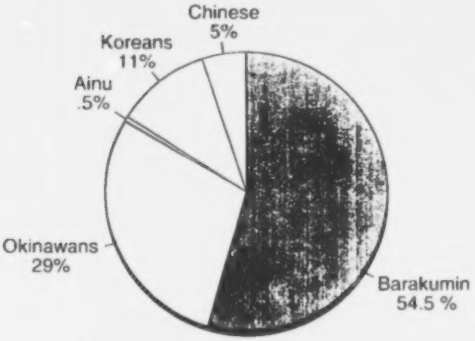
[2] Yoko Sellek, "Nikkeijin: The Phenomenon of Return Migration," in Michael Weiner, ed., *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*. London: Routledge, 1997, p. 199.

[3] An official endorsement made on a passport showing that its owner is allowed to enter a certain country.

Largest Major "Outsider" Groups in Japan, 1990s

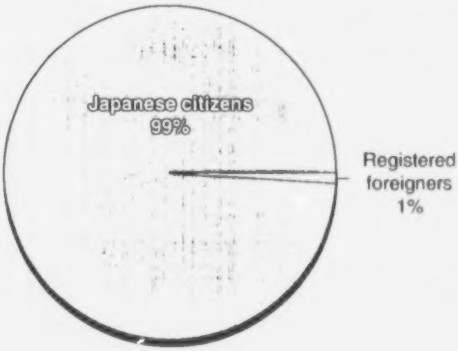


Burakumin	3 million
Okinawans	1.6 million
Ainu	25,000
Koreans	637,000
Chinese	294,000

(Total number of minorities: 5.5 million)

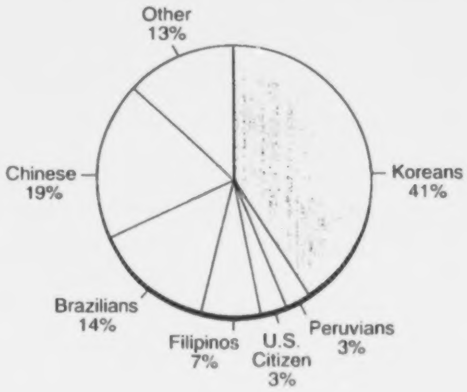
Sources: Ministry of Justice, Government of Japan; Tōkyō Metropolitan Government; Buraku Liberation League; Hokkaidō Government.

Registered Foreigners in Japan, 1995



Source: Japan Government, Statistics Bureau & Statistics Center. (www.stat.go.jp)

Number of Non-Japanese Residents in Japan by Country as of 1999



Note: The population of Brazilians and Filipinos in Japan has been growing. Most Brazilians and Peruvians are ethnic Japanese whose ancestors migrated to Brazil and Peru in the 1930s. Various experts estimate that up to 500,000 additional foreigners reside illegally in Japan and thus are not counted in official statistics.

Source: Statistics on Foreign Residents, Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice, 27 June 2001. (http://jin.jcic.or.jp/stat/stats/21MIG22.html).

Questions

1. Who are the *burakumin* and why has it been so difficult for them to shed their outcast status?
2. Consult a dictionary. What is the definition of a "minority" group in your country? Who would you consider a minority group in your country?
3. By your chosen definition, are the groups discussed above minorities?
4. Are there indigenous peoples in your country? How might you compare their history and current situation with the Ainu's?
5. What kinds of discrimination have Koreans faced in Japan? Are you aware of minorities who have faced similar difficulties in your country? Explain.
6. How are the *Nikkeijin* similar to other foreign workers? How are they different?

Extension Activities

1. Research the crisis that Chrysler corporation experienced in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and the American government's response to that crisis. Then explain the *manga* excerpt in this book to your classmates in the context of that crisis.
2. The rape of a twelve-year-old Okinawan schoolgirl in 1995 strained the relationship between the United States and Japan. Research this incident using accounts from a major newspaper such as *The New York Times*. If possible, examine the coverage of this event in a Japanese English-language newspaper such as *The Japan Times* or the *Nikkei Weekly*. Then recount to your class what you learned. Be sure to explain what happened to the U.S. servicemen in the context of extraterritoriality. (You may have to review extraterritoriality in Chapter 2, Section 2.)
3. The compact disc that accompanies this textbook has Ainu and Okinawan songs. Listen to the Ainu song *Sarorun Rimuse* ("Crane Dance Song") and to the Okinawan folk songs *Ichahanari-Bushi* ("Song of Ikei Island") and *Tanchamē Bushi* ("Song of Tancha Beach"). Finally, listen to *Akata Sunduchi* ("Akata Shrine in Shuri"), an Okinawan song sung during *obon* season. After you listen to all the songs once, read the liner notes. Then listen to the songs again; you should be able to understand more about the songs as you listen the second time. Report to the class on these Ainu and Okinawan songs. Illustrate your talk with a map of Japan, pointing out where many Ainu continue to live in Hokkaidō and the location of Okinawa, 1000 miles southwest of Tōkyō.

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Glossary

Ainu: the indigenous people of Hokkaidō who are descendants of the Jōmon people of Japan's Neolithic period. The Ainu once inhabited northern Honshū but were driven off during the late eighth and the ninth centuries.
Allies: in World War I the Allies, or Allied powers—Great Britain, France, the United States, Russia, Japan, Serbia, Belgium, and Montenegro—fought the central powers of Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria.
Allies: in World War II, an alliance of Great Britain, France, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, China, the Soviet Union, and other countries who opposed the Axis powers.
anarchism: the ideology that all forms of government are oppressive and should be abolished.
armistice: an agreement to temporarily halt active conflict between combatants.
assimilation: the process by which a minority or immigrant group adopts the characteristics of another culture.
Axis: in World War II, an alliance of Germany, Italy, Japan, and other nations who opposed the Allies.

belligerency: in international law, the status of parties legally at war.
Buddhism: a religion originating in India over 2500 years ago. Buddhism, which follows the teachings of the Buddha, entered China during the first century and was introduced to Japan from Korea in the sixth century. Today Buddhism is practiced in many parts of Asia and the rest of the world.
Bunraku: Japanese puppet theater that became popular in the 1600s.
Burakumin: "Hamlet people." Members of Japan's outcast class.
Bushidō: translated as "Way of the Warrior" (*bushi* means warrior). Influenced by Confucianism and Zen Buddhism, this code of the samurai demanded both physical and spiritual discipline.

cabinet: a group of advisers who head executive departments within a government.
capitalism: an economic system in which the factories, land, and other means of production are privately owned by individuals and corporations.
cho: a land measure equivalent to 2.45 acres.
circa: about; used to indicate approximate date. Sometimes abbreviated as ca.
coalition government: temporary alliance of political parties to govern a country jointly.
Cold War: struggle for power between the United States-led alliance and the Soviet Union-led Communist bloc, mainly in Europe and Asia, but also in other regions. The Cold War was a rivalry that included every type of conflict—propaganda, arms buildups, and military alliances—short of direct, full-scale war. The Cold War pitted the ideology of communism against that of capitalist democracy.
collective bargaining: negotiations between an employer and labor union representatives over the working conditions of workers.
communism: in theory, communism is an economic and social system in which classes are eliminated and the means of production are owned in common. Since the nineteenth century, it is the name of the movement aiming to overthrow the capitalist order by revolutionary means to establish a classless society. In actual practice, most prominently in the Soviet Union and China, communism became a system in which a small group of powerholders, sometimes using terror and force, dictated to the vast majority and controlled the means of production.
Confucianism: a system of principles and a code of ethics based on the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius (551 B.C.E. to 479 B.C.E.). Originating in China and spreading to Japan during the fifth century, Confucianism emphasized order and stability that came from a social hierarchy in which all people knew their places in the family and in society. Confucius' teachings included the Five Cardinal Relationships: emperor and official, father and son, husband and wife, older brother and

younger brother, and male friend and male friend. In all of these relationships, the superior was to behave responsibly and to treat his inferior kindly. The inferior was to be obedient and loyal to his superior.

conglomerate: a corporation made up of a group of companies that operate in different fields.

conscript: a person who is required to serve in the military.

conscription: compulsory service in the military. Universal conscription usually means that all men within a certain age range must serve in the military, but in some countries women are also required to serve.

conservatism: the inclination to keep things the way they are; to resist change; to favor traditional views and values. During the Meiji era the government suppressed those who pushed for a constitution and representative government. Although these actions might be seen as conservative, the members of the *genrō* were not conservative; they pushed for change and modernization even as they suppressed those who wanted change to come more quickly.

constitutional monarchy: a political system in which the political power of a king, queen, or emperor is strictly limited by a constitution, often assigning the monarch the role of a symbol or figurehead of the state.

coup d'état, (koo´day tah): a sudden and decisive action in politics that results in a change in government, usually illegally or by force.

courtesan: a prostitute who serves wealthy clients. In Tokugawa Japan, courtesans had a fair degree of education as well as some training in dance and music.

covenant: binding agreement; compact.

daimyō: translated as "great lord." *Daimyō* were landowning samurai. During the Tokugawa shogunate, the *daimyō* were responsible for upholding government policies.

demilitarization: large-scale or complete elimination of military equipment, production, and armed forces, often to minimize the threat of a nation to other nations.

demobilization: release of soldiers from military service.

democratization: The introduction and/or expansion of democracy and its characteristic features, such as protection of the rights of individuals, constitutional government, freedom of expression, equal rights for all persons, political decision-making by majority rule, and political liberty.

diet: a legislative body; Japan's Diet or legislature was established in 1889.

dynasty: a succession of rulers from the same family.

Edo period: a period of peace and cultural flourishing, from 1600 to 1868, when Japan was ruled by the Tokugawa shogunate.

embargo: a government order banning trade with another nation.

empire: territories and nations ruled by a single ultimate authority.

equity stake: ownership share in a property or corporation.

eta: Japan's class of social outcasts. Today the term *burakumin* is usually used instead.

extraterritoriality: the right of foreign citizens to be judged by the laws of their country of citizenship rather than the country in which they live.

fascism: a type of government led by an autocratic regime that suppresses the opposition and maintains rigid censorship and strict control over economic and political life.

filial piety: the absolute obedience and devotion of children to their parents or those who have taken the place of their parents.

free trade: trade based on unrestricted international exchange of goods. Under free trade, tariffs are used as a source of revenue, not as a means to restrict the quantity of goods traded.

futon: Japanese bedding consisting of a pad of tufted cotton filled with cotton batting or similar material that is used on the floor as a mattress.

geisha: predominantly female professional artistic performers who entertained wealthy clients in towns and cities. Geisha underwent years of rigorous training in music and dance. During the Tokugawa period, female geisha became very popular and their numbers increased noticeably.

genrō: elder statesmen; members of the oligarchy who were unofficial advisers to the Meiji emperor.

globalization: the spread of technology, business, and communication networks throughout the world.

Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere: an idea proclaimed by Japanese government leaders of a politically and economically integrated Asia, free from Western domination; in reality, it meant Japan's domination of Korea, Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia.

Group of Seven (G-7): the seven leading industrialized nations—Japan, the United States, Germany, Italy, Canada, France, and Britain— made up the G-7 group. In the later 1990s Russia joined in the economic summit meetings held by the leaders of the G-7 nations. This group of nations, including Russia, then became known as the G-8 countries.

gross domestic product (GDP): the total amount of goods and services produced in a country during a specified period, such as a year.

han: feudal domains during the Edo period. *Han* were abolished after the Meiji Restoration and replaced by prefectures.

Heian: present-day Kyōtō. Heian was the capital city until 1868, the end of the Edo period.

heimin: a commoner. After 1869 most Japanese were designated as *heimin.*

homogeneous: a single type, showing little variation.

House of Representatives: the more powerful house—sometimes called the Lower House—in Japan's Diet (parliament).

ideology: a systematic set of ideas, with moral overtones, about human beings and society that directs the choices people make in their social and political worlds. Those believing in a particular ideology follow its dictates faithfully.

Imperial Rescript: a declaration by the emperor of Japan, having the force of law. Begun during the Meiji period, rescripts were abolished under the 1947 Constitution.

Imperial Rule Assistance Association: a Japanese government-sponsored organization that existed from 1940 to 1945. Its purpose was to unite all political parties, neighborhood associations, schools, and unions into a massive war machine.

imperialism: domination and extension of a nation's authority over another nation; one country's dominance over the economic and political affairs of a weaker country. Traditionally, imperialism has referred to European nations which during the nineteenth century turned weaker places into protectorates, spheres of influence, or colonies. Japan became an imperialist power in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

inalienable: incapable of being surrendered or transferred.

indentured servant: a person who agrees to work for another person for a given period of time, usually in return for being taught a skill. The servant was usually given food, lodging, and perhaps wages in return for work.

individualism: the principle or belief that the interests of the individual are of the utmost importance.

industrialization: the application and use of technology in place of human labor, often characterized by development of large-scale industries marked by the production of large quantities of manufactured goods and a concentration of employment in urban factories. In Meiji Japan the term also included development of modern transportation and communication systems.

infanticide: the practice of killing unwanted infants.

inflation: an increase in consumer prices and a decline in consumers' purchasing power caused by an increase in money beyond the available supply of goods.

International Military Tribunal for the Far East: also called the Tōkyō War Crimes Trial, a military trial that began in May 1946 in Tōkyō to try Japan's leaders as "class A" war criminals. In November 1948, twenty-five men were found guilty of war crimes, of whom seven were sentenced to death and executed in December 1948. Those imprisoned were paroled after the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed and were released unconditionally in April 1958. Others charged with war crimes were tried outside Japan.

joint venture: a working arrangement by which two or more companies join forces to create, produce, and market a product.

kabuki: popular theater of the Edo period. A kabuki performance includes stylized dialogue and movements, colorful costumes, heavy makeup, lively action, dancing, music, and emotional tension in the stories. When the Tokugawa shogunate prohibited women from performing in kabuki, believing them to be prostitutes, male actors took on female roles.

kami: in Shintō, *kami* are the spirits that inhabit natural phenomena; these spirits may also be gods. The souls of great people and the ancestral spirits of particular villages or families can also be *kami*.

kamikaze: young servicemen who sacrificed themselves by piloting aerial bombs and submarine torpedoes. Kamikaze and *shimpu* are two ways to read the characters that mean "divine wind." Both terms refer to the pilots who were part of "special attack" units.

Kantō: the largest plain in Japan, on the main island of Honshū.

kazoku: the nobility.

keiretsu: powerful corporate groups, tied together by closely coordinated management strategies, cross-ownership of stocks, and exclusive parent-company-and-supplier networks. During its post–World War II economic boom, Japan's *keiretsu* were formidable international competitors.

kokutai: the unity of the government, the emperor, and the Japanese people through a common cultural heritage.

Kokutai no Hongi: "Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan." This book spelled out in detail the elements of *kokutai*. In short, it described what it meant to be Japanese and explained why Western culture and institutions, based on individualism, were inferior and ill-suited to Japan.

Korean war: the conflict between Communist and non-Communist forces in Korea from June 1950 to July 1953. The United States led United Nations troops in support of South Korea against North Korea and pushed Japan to remilitarize as it transferred Japan-based U.S. forces to Korea. Japan served as a supply base for American forces, pumping out goods and services in return for much-needed funds.

Kwantung Army: Japanese forces stationed in Manchuria that in 1931 acted independently of the central government in Tōkyō and seized the Chinese area composed of three provinces.

League of Nations: an international organization created at the end of World War I to mediate conflicts among nations. Japan was a charter member of the League but withdrew in protest when a League of Nations investigation determined that Japan had seized Manchuria illegally in 1931.

left or **left wing:** groups or individuals who advocate change in the existing social, political, or economic order to benefit the common people or get more freedom. Communism and some forms of socialism belong to the radical left. Often radical left groups or individuals support authoritarian measures or policies to achieve their goals. During the Taishō period the government tried to suppress leftist labor groups.

Liberal Democratic Party (LDP): conservative political party that dominated Japanese politics for almost the whole post–World War II period.

lifetime employment: a practice commonly used by large Japanese companies. A company guaranteed employees a regular salary and bonuses, regular promotion according to length of employment, and job security until retirement. In return, employees were expected to demonstrate unquestioning loyalty to the company, accepting any assignment by the company at home or abroad.

love marriage: a marriage in which the bride and groom freely decide to marry, although it may or may not be based on romantic "love" in the Western sense. A love marriage sometimes results from an arranged meeting of prospective partners.

Manchukuo: the puppet state set up by Japan in Manchuria in 1932. Manchukuo eventually consisted of Manchuria and Jehol province. The League of Nations condemned Japan's seizure of Manchuria, and only a handful of nations recognized Manchukuo as a sovereign state.

Manchuria: China's mineral-rich northeastern region comprising Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang provinces. Japan and Russia struggled for dominance in Manchuria at the turn of the century. Following Russia's defeat in the Russo–Japanese War in 1905, Japanese influence in Manchuria grew rapidly. In 1931 the Japanese Kwantung Army seized Manchuria outright.

manga: a generic term for Japanese graphic novels, comic books, and animated cartoons.

manifesto: a public declaration of intentions and beliefs.

Meiji: "enlightened rule." The reign of Mutsuhito, Emperor Meiji, 1867–1912.

Meiji Restoration: name given to the change that marked Japan's transition from feudalism to a modern state once again ruled by an emperor.

miai: arranged marriage, usually with help from a go-between.

militarism: the dominance of the military and its ideals. Also, a heightened state of military preparedness. Militarism swept Japan in 1930s.

militarist: a person who believes that military aims and ideals should take precedence over the policies of civil government.

Minamata disease: a mercury-poisoning ailment that afflicted victims who ate fish contaminated by chemicals released into the sea by a chemical plant in northwestern Kyūshū.

minority: a racial, religious, ethnic, or other group different from the larger whole of which it is a part.

most-favored-nation clause: a provision written into a commercial treaty saying that if certain rights and privileges are later granted to a third country, those same rights and privileges will automatically be granted to the country that made the first treaty. For example, the 1854 treaty Japan signed with the United States contained a most-favored-nation clause. This guaranteed that if Japan ever made a treaty with another country—Great Britain, for example—the rights and privileges given to Great Britain would automatically be given to the United States as well.

narikin: newly rich person or people. The *narikin* image of a cigar-smoking fat cat appeared often in editorial cartoons in Japanese newspapers. *Narikin* were depicted as unpatriotic and selfish, caring only about their profits.

nationalism: the desire for national advancement or independence; loyalty and devotion to the interests of a nation, a country, or group of people having a common language and culture. Promoting the culture and interests of a nation, with an emphasis on national rather than international goals. A desire for one's country to be free from foreign domination. See also *ultranationalism.*

nationalize: to bring under the control or ownership of the state.

Nazi: a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, led by Adolf Hitler, who advocated Nazism.

Nazism: an ideology, promoted by Adolf Hitler, of racism, national glorification and expansion, state control of economic and political life, and suppression of opposition.

Nikkeijin: second- and third-generation descendants of Japanese who emigrated from Japan. During the 1980s and 1990s, over 150,000 *Nikkeijin*, mostly from Brazil and Peru, entered Japan to work.

Nō theater: a highly stylized form of traditional theater that includes music, singing, and dance. Actors move slowly on an outdoor stage that uses no sets and only simple props. Instead of plot development, Noh theater focuses on the gradual intensification and concentration of a single emotion.

nuclear family: immediate family, made up of a father, mother, and children.

oligopoly: from the Greek word meaning "few"; an oligopoly is the market condition that exists when there are few sellers. A *zaibatsu*, a cluster of companies dominating all aspects of a business or industry, is an example of an oligopoly. See also *zaibatsu.*

Open Door Policy: a policy in which a nation trades with other nations on equal terms.

opposition party: a political party that controls less than a majority of seats in a legislature.

ordinance: an official regulation or law announced publicly by a government.

pacifism: opposition to war and militarism, with the ultimate goal of complete peace in the world.

Pan–Asian: embracing all of Asia; advocating unity and cooperation among Asian peoples or nations.

party government: a system of government in which cabinet members are chosen from among the members of the major political parties represented in the legislature or parliament. In Japan the first period of party government was from 1918 to 1932.

patriarchal: ruled by the male head of a family or clan; ruled by a hierarchy of men. Japanese society and the family were staunchly patriarchal.

Peace Preservation Law, 1925: law passed in 1925 that provided for sentences of up to 10 years' hard labor for advocating changes in the *kokutai* (national polity) or for denying the private property system. The law was originally aimed at anarchists and socialists but was later used to prosecute leftist extremists. The law was abolished in 1945.

Peace Regulations, 1887: regulations issued in December 1887 to suppress political dissent, particularly mass demonstrations against the government.

per capita: for each person. Equally to all persons.

Persian Gulf war: a 1991 conflict between Iraq and a coalition that included U.S. troops and forces from other nations. The conflict originated with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990.

popular rights: in its largest sense, the phrase refers to the rights of the people. In Meiji Japan, the Freedom and People's Rights Movement was the name of a political movement that advocated establishment of a constitution and a parliamentary government. It was not aimed at winning rights for all the people.

Potsdam Declaration: an ultimatum issued by the Allied Powers on July 26, 1945, at Potsdam, Germany, calling for unconditional surrender of Japan or total destruction. The declaration also included other conditions of surrender, such as military occupation of Japan and punishment of war criminals.

prefecture: a division of local government in Japan headed by a governor. In 1871, when Japan's domains were abolished, they were replaced by three urban prefectures and 72 other prefectures. In 1889 the number was reduced to three urban prefectures and 42 others, excluding Hokkaidō and the Ryūkyū Islands. Today there is one *to* or metropolis, Tōkyō; one district or *dō*, Hokkaidō; two urban prefectures or *fu*, Ōsaka and Kyōtō; and 47 prefectures called *ken*.

prime minister: in a parliamentary system the prime minister is the head of government and is the chief member of the cabinet.

privy council: an advisory council to a head of government.

proletariat: according to communist ideology, factory laborers and other working people who sell their labor in return for wages.

promulgate: to formally announce a new constitution, law, decree, court decision, or other official act.

purge: a government's or organization's ejection of individuals or groups considered disloyal or otherwise suspect.

quality control: inspection and analysis of the entire manufacturing process of a product, intended to ensure quality and remove defects.

rearmament: rebuilding of a nation's military capability after eliminating it or having it eliminated by an outside force.

recession: decline in economic activity characterized by reduction in sales, profits, production, and employment.

Red Purge: a combined effort by Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and the conservative Japanese government in 1950 to crack down on Communists and throw out tens of thousands from positions of influence in government, the Communist press, and business. Socialists and other left-wing activists were also swept up in this purge.

rescript: an edict or decree; an official announcement.

Reverse Course: a dramatic shift in Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers' policy beginning in the late 1940s that downgraded the importance of democratization and demilitarization in Japan and instead focused on transforming the nation into an American ally in the growing struggle against communism in East Asia. Japanese prime minister Shigeru Yoshida used the Reverse Course to moderate what he considered the excesses of the American-imposed reforms and agreed to establish a 75,000-member National Police Reserve.

right or right wing: individuals or groups who oppose changing the existing political, social, and economic order or advocate returning to a previous political, social, and economic order. Radical right groups or individuals often support authoritarian measures or policies to achieve their goals. Ultranationalists in Japan belonged to the radical right.

***rōnin*:** masterless samurai. During the late Tokugawa, samurai who left their domains to take part in anti-Tokugawa shogunate activities became *rōnin.*

sake: fermented alcoholic beverage made from rice.
samurai: translated as "those who serve." A hereditary class that was once composed of professional warriors in pre-modern Japan. See also *bushidō.*
San Francisco Peace Treaty: signed on September 8, 1951, and taking effect the following year, this treaty formally ended World War II between Japan and the forty-eight nations who signed it. The Soviet Union refused to sign the treaty, and neither the Communist or Nationalist government of China was invited to attend. The treaty stripped Japan of its wartime gains but returned sovereignty to the nation. Japan also signed the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty at the same time, ensuring the continued presence of American military bases in the country.
sarariman: "salaryman." White-collar workers—or those in service industries and middle-management positions—in Japan.
Self–Defense Force: the Japanese version of a military, established in 1950 as a "National Police Reserve." Although it has grown to become a modern, well-equipped land, air, and sea defense force, Japan still would depend upon the United States for defense against a major attack. Critics have charged that the SDF is unconstitutional because Article 9 prohibits forever the existence of armed forces in Japan.
sen: 1/100 of a yen. The *sen* is no longer in use.
Shintō: the ancient indigenous religion of Japan, characterizd primarily by worship of nature and ancestors.
shizoku: former samurai. After 1869 former samurai were designated *shizoku.*
sho: 0.48 U.S. gallon; less than 1 U.S. bushel.
shōgun: military ruler of Japan, translated as "general who subdues the barbarians." The first *shōgun* was Minamoto Yoritomo, who was given this title in 1192 by the emperor. The last *shōgun* was of the Tokugawa line of rulers, whose shogunate ended in 1868 with the Meiji Restoration.
shogunate: the military government of the *shōgun.*
Shōwa: "Enlightened peace." The reign of Emperor Hirohito, 1926–1989.
Shōwa Restoration: a nationwide return to traditional values and the restoration of *kokutai.* Radical nationalists during the late 1920s and 1930s called for a Shōwa Restoration to save Japan from corrupt politicians, big business, and foreign influence.
socialism: the theory that advocates government intervention to effect a more equitable distribution of resources and jobs over the society as a whole. In its more common use, socialism requires that factories, land, and other means of production be owned by the government and used to benefit all.
sovereignty: the freedom of a city, state, nation, or people to organize its own affairs without external control.
spheres of influence: large areas within China where certain foreign nations exercised control over natural resources, trade, and transportation.
State Shintō: the government-controlled form of the Shintō belief system focusing on the state and the role of the emperor and tied closely to Japanese nationalism through the end of World War II. State Shintō differed from other types of Shintō, including the popular folk religious traditions practiced by many Japanese for generations in their homes and local shrines.
subsidy: direct financial aid given by the government to a private organization.
Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP): the title given to the commanding officer of the four-power council (United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, and Communist China) that theoretically cooperated to oversee the occupation of Japan. In reality, U.S. General Douglas MacArthur, who served as SCAP from 1945 to 1951, was the towering symbol of authority who dominated the occupation's administration and ensured that the United States would make all key decisions. General Matthew B. Ridgway succeeded MacArthur in 1951 and served as SCAP until the end of the occupation. The occupation government as a whole was also referred to as SCAP.

Taishō: the reign name for the emperor Yoshihito. Taishō, which means "great righteousness," lasted from 1912 to 1926.
Taishō democracy: the period from 1918 to 1932 when growth in parliamentary democracy took

place. Mass participation by citizens in the political process also marked this era. The rise of the militarists brought about the end of Taishō democracy.

Taishō Political Crisis: a popular movement that brought about the fall of the government in 1913 and lessened the power of the *genrō* to name prime ministers and cabinets. The Taishō Political Crisis was also the first time popular opinion forced a change in government (the prime minister and cabinet).

tariff: a duty imposed by a government on imported or exported goods to generate revenue. Tariffs are often used to protect domestic markets from foreign competition.

Tōkaidō: a major road that connected Kyōtō and Edo. The Tōkaidō spurred the growth of most of Japan's major cities.

Tokugawa shogunate: the government of the Tokugawa *shōgun.*

Treaty of Portsmouth: the treaty negotiated in 1905 between Japan and Russia at the end of the Russo–Japanese War. Japan gained the Russian rights in southern Manchuria, possession of the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, and primacy in Korea.

Treaty of Shimonoseki: the treaty negotiated in 1895 between Japan and China. Japan gained Taiwan, the Pescadores, and the Liaodong Peninsula.

Tripartite Pact: an agreement among Germany, Italy, and Japan in which each nation agreed to declare war on any nation that attacked the other two nations. The act also gave Japan the right to control the former French colonies in Southeast Asia.

Triple Intervention: an 1895 demand by Russia, France, and Germany that forced Japan to give up control of the Liaodong Peninsula that it had gained under the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki.

Twenty-one Demands: a list of conditions Japan attempted to impose on China in 1915 to increase Japanese holdings and influence in that nation. The fifth and final set of demands called for Japanese advisers in key government posts, which would have made China a virtual protectorate of Japan. With the support of the West, China resisted these demands, and Japan relented, but China did acquiesce to the remaining demands. The Twenty-one Demands created bitter anti-Japanese sentiments among the Chinese people.

ukiyo: translated as "floating world," the term was used to refer to the entertainment sectors of the cities, reflecting the self-indulgent life of the wealthy.

ukiyo-e: translated as "pictures of the floating world," *ukiyo-e* were woodblock prints that depicted courtesans, kabuki actors, sumo wrestlers, and other aspects of the entertainment world. Later artists produced landscapes and scenes of everyday life.

ultranationalism: extreme devotion to national interests and the rights of one's own nation with little or no concern for foreign relations and often at the expense of another nation or people. Japanese ultranationalists during the 1920s and 1930s wanted their country to seize foreign territories for the glory of Japan.

United States–Japan Security Treaty: a security treaty signed by both countries following the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in September 1951. It granted the United States the right to maintain military bases in Japan to defend it, maintain peace in East Asia, and help the Japanese government put down any internal disturbances. Segments of the Japanese public, left-wing activists, and peace advocates argued vehemently against the treaty, charging that the government had traded the return of sovereignty for the incorporation of Japan into the American anti-Communist alliance.

universal conscription: compulsory enrollment in the armed forces for all the men or all the citizens of a country in a specific age group, usually for a given period of time.

universal suffrage: the right to vote of all persons who are eligible under the law. In Japan, universal suffrage was introduced in April 1946, giving women the right to vote for the first time and lowering the voting age from twenty-five to twenty.

urbanization: extension of features of cities into other areas; citification of rural areas.

Washington Conference: meetings held from November 1921 to February 1922 by the major world powers, including Japan, at which the size of the Japanese navy was restricted to keep it smaller than its American and British counterparts. This irritated many Japanese military leaders who thought Japan's national security had been compromised at the conference.

Westernization: in this book, the process of conversion to or adoption of the traditions, ideas, and technology of the industrialized countries of Europe and North America.
World Trade Organization (WTO): an international organization established in 1995 to enforce international agreements to reduce barriers to world trade.

Yamato damashii: "The spirit of Yamato (Japan)." This concept, a key element in military training, was thought to underlie the courage and dedication of the Japanese.
Yasukuni Shrine: a Shintō shrine in Tōkyō memorializing servicemen who died in Japan's wars since the mid-1800s. Official government support of the shrine ended after World War II, when it became a private institution.

yatoi: a foreign expert hired to provide Japan with technical expertise during the Meiji era.
yen: the basic monetary unit of Japanese currency.

zaibatsu: financial cliques or conglomerates that dominated the Japanese economy until 1945. These organizations usually combined several areas of the economy, including banking. Some of the oldest ones began during the early Tokugawa period. Others began during the Meiji Restoration as companies that benefited from government patronage or contacts.
Zen Buddhism: a sub-branch of Buddhism that developed in China and spread to Korea and then Japan in the twelfth century. The word *Zen* means meditation and comes from the Chinese word *ch'an.* Zen, which attracted the samurai, teaches that through meditation a person can develop inner strength, self-discipline, and enlightenment.

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